A Typical Indian Idol

Image-worship and the use of idols have been characteristic of the religions of India from early times. Hindus, Buddhists, and Jains alike resort to these plastic representations of their divinities and sacred personages, even if their use during the ancient Vedic period cannot be proved.

HISTORY of INDIA

Edited by

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VOLUME IX

Historic Accounts of India by Foreign Travellers

Classic, Oriental, and Occidental

Collected and arranged by

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INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR

In this volume I have endeavoured to present a picture of India as it appeared to foreign travellers who visited it at different periods in its history. Greek, Latin, Chinese, Arabic, Persian, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English sources have been drawn upon, since these are the historic nations which have come into direct or indirect contact with India.

Among classical writers Strabo was given a preference, both for particular merits of his own and because his description of India includes the reports of his countrymen, Megasthenes, Onesikritos, and others, who accompanied Alexander the Great on his invading march into the land of the Indus. In the second chapter, in which the story of the practice of widow-burning, from the earliest ages to the time of its abolition, is told, space has been found for several Latin allusions, besides the Greek, Moslem, and European references to this ancient custom. The third chapter will be found to prove that the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hiuan Tsang, was not only a pious devotee of India's broader creed, but also a keen observer and careful recorder of what he saw in the land of the faith that he loved. For the earlier Moslem period I have chosen a selection

from the famous al-Biruni and have added an excerpt from the Persian geographer Mustaufi, better known to us as al-Kazvini. The accounts by the Europeans give a good picture of the manner in which India presented itself to Occidental eyes from the end of the fifteenth century onward.

The selections taken from Strabo are from the standard translation by Hamilton and Falconer, but I have carefully revised the version with the help of my pupil Mr. Charles J. Ogden. The chapter from Hiuan Tsang is based upon the translation by Beal ("Buddhist Records"), but has been thoroughly remodelled and likewise compared with the version by Watters, this task being done for me by one of my students, Mr. Kentok Hori, a Buddhist priest of Japan. The selections from Roger's early Dutch account of India have been translated for the first time into English by my friend and former pupil Dr. Louis H. Gray. Grateful acknowledgment is here made for the privilege of quoting at length several passages from the Hakluyt Society's publications, Sachau's al-Biruni, and Beauchamp's translation of an account of suttee by the Abbé Dubois, the latter passage being among the citations in the second chapter. In all cases the sources to which I have been indebted are indicated in their proper places, and the text in general has been treated as in the preceding volumes.

The illustrations are taken largely from original photographs or old prints, but useful aid, as in the preceding volumes, has been received from such well-

known works on India as those of Rousselet, Beveridge, and Caine. It has been an advantage likewise to have the use of certain excellent photographs taken by the Rev. W. M. Zumbro, of Madura, Southern India.

As I close this volume, the last of the series, it is with thanks again to Mr. Haas and Dr. Gray, who have given me such material assistance; my special thanks likewise are due to several members connected with the publishing staff, to whose ready help I am much indebted. This prefatory note is written on the eve of my departure for the third time to the Orient, and as I look back over the long ages of India's history and its position in Asia, I can but be struck by the thought of the ever-increasing interest in the East felt by the West, and the growing importance of a knowledge of the great historic nations of the Land of the Dawn.

A. V. Williams Jackson.

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AN INDIAN DECORATIVE DESIGN.

CHAPTER I

ACCOUNT OF INDIA BY THE GREEK WRITER STRABO

First Century B. C.

AMONG the interesting early accounts of India is one by the Greek geographer Strabo, who wrote in the first century before the Christian era. Strabo was an extensive traveller, and although he had not visited India itself, he had journeyed sufficiently in distant lands to be able to judge of the general characteristics of countries described by others, even if he himself had not seen them. His account of Hindustan he draws chiefly from Greek records of Alexander's campaigns and of the historians of Seleukos. He frequently cites Megasthenes and Onesikritos, who accompanied the Macedonian conqueror on his victorious march through the East, but he places more confidence in Aristoboulos, who was likewise with Alexander on

the expedition, and in Nearchos, the chief commander of Alexander's fleet. Strabo's account of India is found in the first portion of the fifteenth book of his Geography, and I have reproduced it here with a few unimportant omissions. He opens his description as follows:

'The reader must receive this account of India with indulgence, for the country lies at a very great distance, and few persons of our nation have seen it; and those who have visited it have seen only some portions of it; the greater part of what they relate is from hearsay, and even what they saw, they observed during their passage through the country with an army, and in great haste. For this reason they do not agree in their accounts of the same things, although they write about them as if they had examined them with the greatest care and attention. Some of these writers were fellow soldiers and fellow travellers, for example, those who belonged to the army which, under the command of Alexander, conquered Asia; yet they frequently contradict each other. If, then, they differ so much respecting things which they had seen, what must we think of what they relate from hearsay?

Nor do the writers who, many ages since Alexander's time, have given an account of these countries, nor even those who at the present time make voyages thither, afford any precise information. Apollodoros, for instance, author of the "History of Parthia," when he mentions the Greeks who occasioned the revolt of Baktriane from the Syrian kings, who were the suc-

cessors of Seleukos Nikator, says that when they became powerful they invaded India. He adds no new information to what was previously known, and even asserts, in contradiction to others, that the Baktrians had subjected to their dominion a larger portion of India than had the Macedonians; for Eukratidas (one of these kings) had a thousand cities subject to his authority. But other writers affirm that the Macedonians conquered the nine nations situated between the Hydaspes (Jihlam) and the Hypanis (Bias), and obtained possession of five hundred cities, not one of which was less than Kos in Meropis (an island in the Ægean Sea), and that Alexander, after having conquered all this country, delivered it up to Poros.

COIN OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Very few of the merchants who now sail from Egypt by the Nile and the Arabian Gulf to India have sailed around as far as the Ganges; and, being ignorant persons, are not qualified to give an account of places they have visited. From one place in India, and from one king, namely, Pandion, or, according to others, Poros, presents and embassies were sent to Augustus Cæsar. With the ambassadors came the Indian sophist (or ascetic), who committed himself to the flames at Athens, like Kalanos, who exhibited the same spectacle in the presence of Alexander.

If we set these stories aside and direct our attention to accounts of the country prior to the expedition

of Alexander, we shall find them even more obscure. It is probable that Alexander, elated by his extraordinary good fortune, believed these accounts. According to Nearchos, he was ambitious of conducting his army through Gedrosia (Mekran) when he heard that Semiramis and Cyrus (Kyros) had undertaken expeditions against India (through this country), although both had abandoned the enterprise, the former escaping with twenty, and Cyrus with seven men only. For that reason Alexander considered that it would be a glorious achievement for him to lead a conquering army safe through the same nations and countries where Semiramis and Cyrus had suffered such disasters; and he therefore gave credence to the stories.

But how can we place any real confidence in the accounts of India derived from such expeditions as those of Cyrus and Semiramis? Megasthenes is also of this opinion, for he advises persons not to credit the ancient histories of India, owing to the fact that, with the exception of the expeditions of Herakles (Hercules), of Dionysos (Bacchus), and the later invasion of Alexander, no army was ever sent out of their country by the Indians, nor did any foreign enemy ever invade or conquer it. Sesostris the Egyptian, he says, and Tearkon the Ethiopian, advanced as far as Europe; and Nabokodrosoros (Nebuchadrezzar) who was more celebrated among the Chaldæans than Herakles among the Greeks, penetrated even as far as the Pillars, which Tearkon also reached; Sesostris conducted an army from Iberia to Thrake and Pontos; Idanthyrsos the

Skythian overran Asia as far as Egypt; but not one of these persons proceeded as far as India, and Semiramis died before her intended enterprise was undertaken. The Persians had sent for a body of mercenary troops, the Hydrakes,[1] from India, but they did not lead an army into that country, and only approached it when Cyrus was marching against the Massagetai.'

Strabo then gives an account of the storming of the fortress of Nysa and of Aornos, as described in the second volume of this series (pp. 35 - 45), and adds some remarks on the geographical boundaries of India, after which he turns to the subject of the rivers of Hindustan.

'The whole of India is watered by rivers, some of which empty themselves into the two largest, the Indus and the Ganges; others discharge themselves into the sea by their own mouths. But all of them have their sources in the Caucasus. At their commencement their course is toward the south; some of them continue to flow in the same direction, particularly those which unite with the Indus; others turn to the east, as the Ganges. This, the largest of the Indian rivers, descends from the mountainous country, and when it reaches the plains, turns to the east, then flowing past Palibothra,[2] a very large city, it proceeds onward to the sea in that quarter, and discharges its waters by a single mouth. The Indus falls into the Southern Sea, and empties itself by two mouths, encompassing the

[1] The Oxydrakai, an autonomous tribe of the Panjab, are meant.

[2] Pataliputra, the modern Patna; see above, vol. ii, p. 110.

country called Patalene, which resembles the Delta of Egypt.

By the exhalation of vapours from such vast rivers, and by the Etesian winds, as Eratosthenes affirms, India is watered by summer rains, and the plains are inundated. . . .

Nearchos, speaking of the accretion of earth formed

THE GANGES AT BENARES.

by the rivers, adduces the following instances. The plains of Hermos, Kaystros, Maiandros, and Kaïkos have these names because they have been formed by the soil which has been carried over the plains by the rivers; or rather they were produced by the fine and soft soil brought down from the mountains; whence the plains are, as it were, the offspring of the rivers, and it is rightly said that the plains belong to the

rivers. What is said by Herodotus of the Nile, and of the land about it, namely, that it is the gift of the Nile (wherefore Nearchos says that the Nile was synonymous with Egypt), may be applied equally well to this country.

Aristoboulos, however, says that rain and snow fall only on the mountains and the country immediately below them, and that the plains experience neither one nor the other, but are overflowed only by the rise of the waters of the rivers; that the mountains are covered with snow in the winter; that the rains set in at the commencement of spring, and continue to increase; that at the time of the blowing of the Etesian winds they pour down impetuously, without intermission, night and day till the rising of Arktouros, and that the rivers, filled by the melting of the snow and by the rains, irrigate the plains.

These things, he says, were observed by himself and by others on their journey into India from the Paropamisadai. This was after the setting of the Pleiades, and during their stay in the mountainous country in the territory of the Hypasioi, and in that of Assakanos during the winter. At the beginning of spring they descended into the plains to a large city called Taxila; thence they proceeded to the Hydaspes (Jihlam) and the country of Poros. During the winter they saw no rain, but only snow. The first rain which fell was at Taxila.[1] After their descent to the Hydaspes (Jihlam)

[1] The ruins of Taxila (Skt. Takshasila) are still to be seen near Rawal Pindi in Northern India.

and the conquest of Poros, their progress was eastwards to the Hypanis (Bias), and thence back to the Hydaspes (Jihlam). At this time it rained continually, and particularly during the blowing of the Etesian winds, but at the rising of Arktouros the rains ceased. They remained at the Hydaspes while the ships were being built, and began their voyage not many days before the setting of the Pleiades, and were occupied during the whole autumn, winter, and the ensuing spring and summer in sailing down the river, and they arrived at Patalene (in the delta of the Indus) about the rising of the Dog-star; during the passage down the river, which lasted ten months, they did not experience rain at any place, not even when the Etesian winds were at their height, when the rivers were full and the plains overflowed; the sea could not be navigated on account of the blowing of contrary winds, but no land breezes succeeded.

Nearchos gives the same account, but does not agree with Aristoboulos respecting the rains in summer, but says that the plains are watered by rain in the summer, and that they are without rain in winter. Both writers, however, speak of the rise of the rivers. Nearchos says that the men encamped upon the Akesines (Chinab) were obliged to change their situation for another more elevated, and that this was at the time of the rise of the river, and of the summer solstice.

Aristoboulos even gives the measure of the height to which the river rises, namely, forty cubits, twenty of which would fill the channel up to the margin, above

its previous depth, and the other twenty are the measure of the water when it overflows the plains. . . .

From what Aristoboulos relates, it is natural that the country should be subject to shocks of earthquakes, since the ground is loose and hollow by excess of moisture, and easily splits into fissures, so that even the course of rivers is altered. He says that when he was

THE SABARMATI, A RIVER OF WESTERN INDIA, ON ITS WAY TO THE SEA.

despatched upon some business into the country, he saw a deserted tract of land which contained more than a thousand cities with their dependent villages. The Indus, having left its proper channel, had become diverted into another and much deeper channel on the left hand, and precipitated itself into this like a cataract, so that the country on the right hand, from which it had receded, was no longer watered by the inundations, since it was elevated above the level, not only

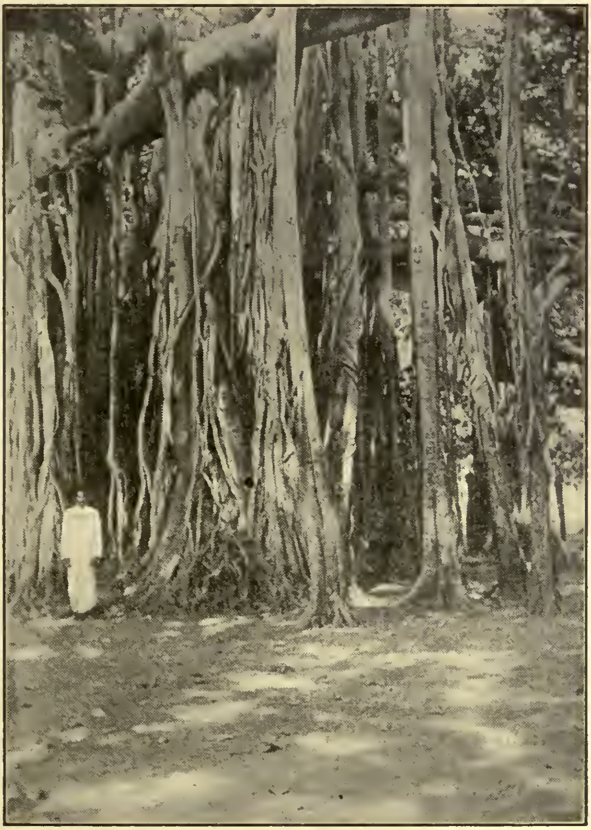
of the new channel of the river, but above that of the inundations.

The account of Onesikritos confirms the facts of the rising of the rivers and of the absence of land breezes. He says that the seashore is swampy, particularly near the mouths of rivers, on account of the mud, tides, and the force of the winds blowing from the sea.

Megasthenes also indicates the fertility of India by the circumstance of the soil producing fruits and grain twice a year. Eratosthenes relates the same facts, for he speaks of a winter and a summer sowing, and of the rain at the same seasons. For, according to him, there is no year which is without rain at both those periods, whence ensues great abundance, the ground never failing to bear crops.

An abundance of fruit is produced by trees; and the roots of plants, particularly of large reeds, possess a sweetness which they have by nature and by coction; for the water, both from rains and rivers, is warmed by the sun's rays. The meaning of Eratosthenes seems to be this, that what among other nations is called the ripening of fruits and juices, is called among these *coction*, and it contributes as much to produce an agreeable flavour as the coction by fire. To this is attributed the flexibility of the branches of trees, from which wheels of carriages are made, and to the same cause is imputed the growth of wool (*i. e.* cotton) upon some trees. Nearchos says that their fine clothes were made of this wool, and that the Macedonians used it for mattresses and the stuffing of saddles. The Serika (silks)

are also of a similar kind and are made of carded byssos (or fibre), which is obtained from some sort of bark of plants. Nearchos states that reeds yield honey, although there are no bees, and that there is a tree



THE DESCENDING BRANCHES OF A BANYAN-TREE.

from the fruit of which honey is procured, but that the fruit eaten fresh causes intoxication.

India produces many singular trees. There is one whose branches incline downwards, and whose leaves are not less in size than a shield. Onesikritos, describ-

ing minutely the country of Mousikanos, which he says is the most southerly part of India, relates that there are some large trees [the banyan] the branches of which extend to the length even of twelve cubits. They then grow downwards, as though bent (by force), till they touch the earth, where they penetrate and take root like layers. They next shoot upwards and form a trunk. They again grow as we have described, bending downwards, and implanting one layer after another, and in the above order, so that one tree forms a long shady roof, like a tent supported by many pillars. In speaking of the size of the trees, he says their trunks could scarcely be clasped by five men.

Aristoboulos also, where he mentions the Akesines (Chinab) and its confluence with the Hyarotis (Ravi), speaks of trees with their boughs bent downwards and of a size so great that fifty horsemen, or, according to Onesikritos, four hundred horsemen, might take shelter at mid-day beneath the shade of a single tree.

Aristoboulos mentions another tree, not large, bearing great pods, like the bean, ten fingers in length, full of honey, and says that those who eat this fruit do not easily escape alive. But the accounts of all these writers about the size of the trees have been outdone by those who assert that there has been seen, beyond the Hyarotis (Ravi), a tree which casts a shade at noon of five stadia (about 3000 feet).

Aristoboulos says of the wool-bearing trees, that the flower pod contains a kernel, which is taken out, and the remainder is carded like wool.

In the country of Mousikanos there grows, he says, spontaneously grain resembling wheat, and a vine that produces wine, whereas other authors affirm that there is no wine in India. Hence, according to Anacharsis, they had no pipes or any musical instruments, except cymbals, drums, and rattles, which were used by jugglers.

Both Aristoboulos and other writers relate that India produces many medicinal drugs and roots, both of a salutary and noxious quality, and dyes yielding a variety of colours. He adds that, by a law, any person discovering a deadly substance is punished with death unless he also discover the antidote; in case he discovers the antidote, he is rewarded by the king.

Southern India, like Arabia and Ethiopia, produces cinnamon, nard, and other aromatics. It resembles these countries as regards the effect of the sun's rays, but it surpasses them in having a copious supply of water, whence the atmosphere is humid, and on this account more conducive to fertility and fecundity; and this applies to the earth and to the water, hence those animals which inhabit both one and the other are of a larger size than are found in other countries.'

At this point Strabo allows himself to digress for a couple of pages on the subject of resemblances between India and Egypt in regard to the water-supply of both countries, and then he returns to the more specific question of the rivers of India and the fertility caused by their overflow—a topic of interest to any one who is concerned with India's history.

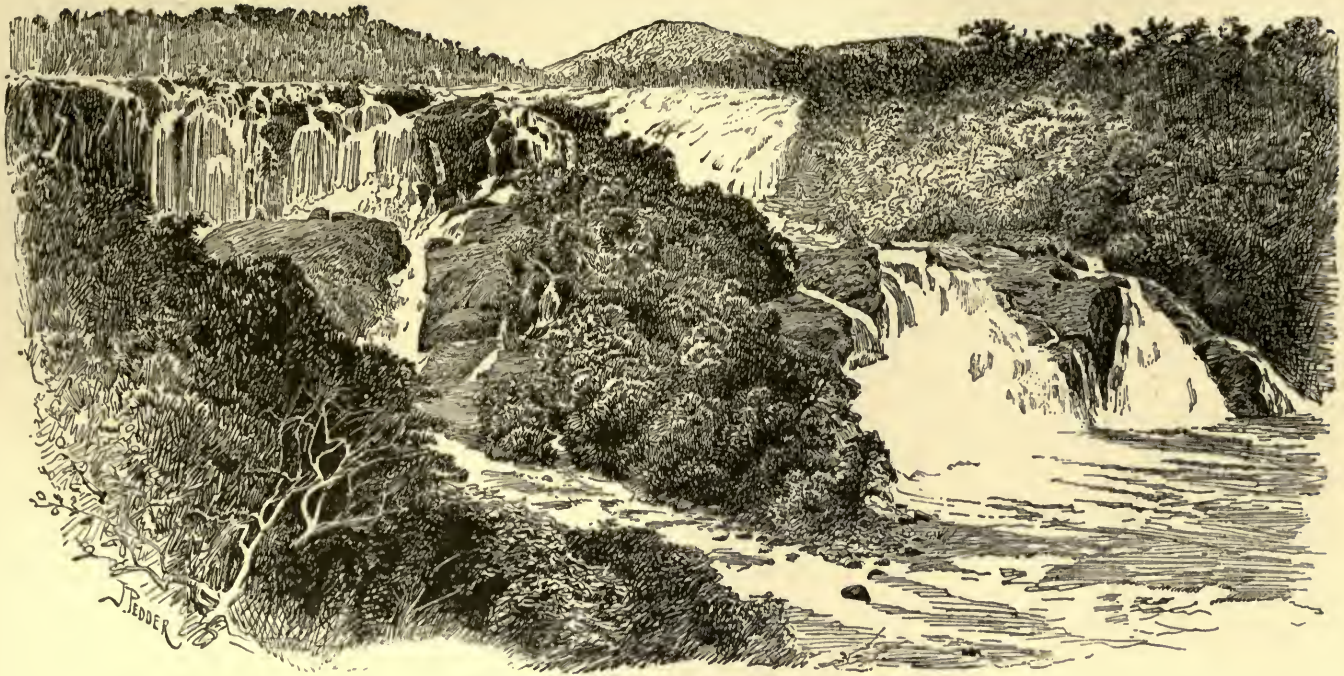
'It is admitted by those who maintain the resemblance of India to Egypt and Ethiopia, that the plains which are not overflowed do not produce anything for want of water.

Nearchos says that the old question respecting the rise of the Nile is answered by the case of the Indian rivers, namely, that it is the effect of summer rains. When Alexander saw crocodiles in the Hydaspes (Bias) and Egyptian beans in the Akesines (Chinab), he thought that he had discovered the sources of the Nile and was about to equip a fleet with the intention of sailing by this river to Egypt; but he found out shortly afterwards that his design could not be accomplished. "for between were vast rivers, fearful waters, and, first of all, the ocean,"[1] into which all the Indian rivers discharge themselves; then come Ariane, the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, all Arabia and Troglodytike. . . .

We shall speak of the noteworthy rivers that flow into the Indus, and of the countries which they traverse; with regard to the rest, our ignorance is greater than our knowledge.

Alexander, who discovered the greatest portion of this country, first of all decided that it was more expedient to pursue and destroy those who had treacherously killed Darius, and were meditating the revolt of Baktriane. He approached India therefore through Ariane, which he left on the right hand, and crossed the Paropamisos to the northern parts, and to Baktriane. Having conquered all the country subject to

[1] Homer, *Odyssey*, 2, 157.



FALLS OF THE KAVARI, SWASAMUDRAM.

the Persians, and many other places besides, he then entertained the desire of possessing India, of which he had received many accounts, although indistinct.

He therefore returned, crossing over the same mountains by other and shorter roads, keeping India on the left hand; he then immediately turned toward it, and toward its western boundaries and the rivers Kophes (the Kophen of Kabul) and Choaspes. The latter river empties itself into the Kophes, near Plemyrion, after passing by another city, Gorys, in its course through Bandobene and Gandaritis.

He was informed that the mountainous and northern parts were the most habitable and fertile, but that the southern part was either without water, or was liable to be overflowed by the rivers at one time, and burnt up at another, more fit to be the haunts of wild beasts than the habitations of men. He resolved, therefore, first to get possession of that part of India which had been well spoken of, considering at the same time that the rivers which it was necessary to pass, and which flowed transversely through the country which he intended to attack, would be crossed more easily near their sources. He also heard that several of the rivers united and formed one stream, and that this occurred more and more frequently the farther they advanced, so that, in the absence of boats, the country would be more difficult to traverse. Being apprehensive of this obstruction, he crossed the Kophes (Kophen of Kabul), and conquered the whole of the mountainous country situated toward the east.

Next to the Kophes was the Indus, then the Hydaspes (Jihlam), the Akesines (Chinab), the Hyarotis (Ravi), and lastly, the Hypanis (Bias). He was prevented from proceeding farther, partly because of some oracles, and partly because compelled by his army, which was exhausted by toil and fatigue, but whose principal distress arose from their constant exposure to rain. Hence we became acquainted with the eastern parts of India on this side of the Hypanis, and whatever parts besides which have been described by those who, after Alexander, advanced beyond the Hypanis to the Ganges and Palibothra (Pataliputra, Patna).

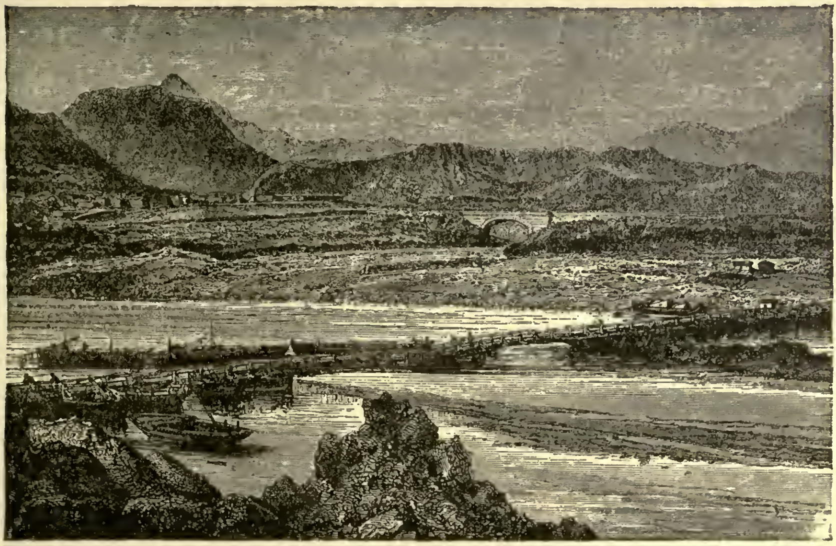
After the river Kophes, follows the Indus. The country lying between these two rivers is occupied by Astakenoi, Masianoi, Nysaioi, and Hypasioi.[1] Next is the territory of Assakanos, where is the city Masoga (Massaga?), the royal residence of the country. Near the Indus is another city, Peukolaïtis. At this place a bridge, which was constructed, afforded a passage for the army.

Between the Indus and the Hydaspes is Taxila, a large city, and governed by good laws. The neighbouring country is crowded with inhabitants and very fertile, and here unites with the plains. The people and their king Taxiles received Alexander with kindness, and obtained in return more presents than they had offered to Alexander; so that the Macedonians

[1] The modern names of most of these places will be found in the description given of Alexander's Indian campaign in the third and fourth chapters of the second volume of this series.

became jealous, and observed that it seemed as if Alexander had found none on whom he could confer favours before he passed the Indus. Some writers say that this country is larger than Egypt.

Above this country among the mountains is the territory of Abisaros (Abhisara), who, as the ambassadors that came from him reported, kept two serpents,



BRIDGE OF BOATS ON THE INDUS.

one of eighty, and the other, according to Onesikritos, of one hundred and forty cubits in length. This writer may as well be called the master fabulist as the master pilot of Alexander. For all those who accompanied Alexander preferred the marvellous to the true, but this writer seems to have surpassed all in his description of prodigies. Some things, however, he relates which are probable and worthy of record, and will not be passed over in silence even by one who does not

believe their correctness. Other writers also mention the hunting of serpents in the Emoda Mountains, and the keeping and feeding of them in caves.

Between the Hydaspes (Jihlam) and Akesines (Chinab) is the country of Poros, an extensive and fertile district, containing nearly three hundred cities. Here also is the forest in the neighbourhood of the Emoda Mountains in which Alexander cut down a large quantity of fir, pine, cedar, and a variety of other trees fit for ship-building, and brought the timber down the Hydaspes. With this he constructed a fleet on the Hydaspes, near the cities which he built on each side of the river where he had crossed it and conquered Poros. One of these cities he called Boukephalia, from the horse Boukephalos, which was killed in the battle with Poros. The name Boukephalos (ox-headed) was given to it from the breadth of its forehead. It was an excellent war-horse, and Alexander constantly rode it in battle.[1] The other city he called Nikaia from the victory (*nikē*) which he had obtained.

In the forest before mentioned it is said there is a vast number of monkeys, and they are as large as they are numerous. On one occasion the Macedonians, seeing a body of them standing in array opposite to them on some bare eminences (for this animal is not less intelligent than the elephant) and presenting the appearance of an army, prepared to attack them as real enemies, but being informed of the facts of the case by Taxiles, who was then with the king, they desisted.

[1] See vol. ii, p. 67.

The chase of this animal is conducted in two different manners. It is an imitative creature and takes refuge up among the trees. The hunters, when they perceive a monkey seated on a tree, place in sight a basin containing water, with which they wash their own eyes; then, instead of water, they put a basin of bird-lime, go away, and lie in wait at a distance. The animal leaps down and besmears itself with the

AT THE MONKEY TEMPLE, BENARES.

bird-lime, and when it winks, the eyelids are fastened together; the hunters then come upon it and take it.

The other method of capturing them is as follows: the hunters dress themselves in bags like trousers, and go away, leaving behind them others which are hairy, with the inside smeared over with bird-lime. The monkeys put them on, and are easily taken.

Some writers place Kathaia and the country of Sopeithes (King Subhuti), one of the governors, in the tract between the rivers (Hydaspes and Akesines);

some, on the other side of the Akesines and of the Hyarotis, on the confines of the territory of the other Poros, the nephew of the Poros who was taken prisoner by Alexander, and call the country subject to him Gandaris.

A very singular usage is related of the high estimation in which the inhabitants of Kathaia hold the quality of beauty, even in the matter of beauty in horses and dogs. According to Onesikritos, they elect the handsomest person as king. [It is likewise their custom regarding children that] a child undergoes a public inspection and examination two months after birth. They determine whether it has the amount of beauty required by law, and whether it is worthy to be permitted to live. The presiding magistrate then pronounces whether it is to be allowed to live or whether it is to be put to death.

They dye their heads with various and extremely striking colours, for the purpose of improving their appearance. This custom prevails elsewhere among many of the Indians, who pay great attention to their hair and dress; and the country produces colours of great beauty. In other respects the people are frugal, but are fond of ornament.

A peculiar custom is related of the Kathaioi. The bride and the husband are respectively the choice of each other, and the wives burn themselves with their deceased husbands. The reason assigned for this practice is that the women sometimes fell in love with young men, and deserted or poisoned their husbands. This law was

The Great Temple at Madura.

therefore established in order to check the practice of administering poison; but neither the existence nor the origin of the law are probable facts.

It is said, that in the territory of Sopeithes there is a mountain composed of salt to be mined, sufficient for the whole of India. Valuable mines also, both of gold and silver, are situated, it is said, not far off among other mountains, according to the testimony of Gorgos, the miner of Alexander. The Indians, unacquainted with mining and smelting, are ignorant of their own wealth, and therefore traffic with great simplicity.

The dogs in the territory of Sopeithes are said to possess remarkable courage; Alexander received from Sopeithes a present of one hundred and fifty of them. To test them, two were set at a lion; when these were mastered, two others were set on; when the battle became equal, Sopeithes ordered a man to seize one of the dogs by the leg, and to drag him away or, if he still held on, to cut off his leg. Alexander at first refused his consent to the dog's leg being cut off, as he wished to save the dog. But as Sopeithes said, "I will give you four in the place of it," Alexander consented, and he saw the dog permit his leg to be cut slowly off, rather than loose his hold.

The direction of the march, as far as the Hydaspes, was for the most part toward the south. After that, to the Hypanis, it was more toward the east. The whole of it, however, was much nearer to the country lying at the foot of the mountains than to the plains. Alexander therefore, when he returned from the Hy-

panis to the Hydaspes and the station of his vessels, prepared his fleet, and set sail on the Hydaspes.

All the rivers which have been mentioned (the last of which is the Hypanis) unite in one stream, the Indus. It is said that there are altogether fifteen rivers of considerable size which flow into the Indus. Filled by these various streams, the river Indus becomes enlarged in some places to the extent of a hundred stadia, according to writers who exaggerate, or, according to a more moderate estimate, to fifty stadia at the utmost, and at the least to seven; and they speak of many nations and cities about this river. It discharges itself by two mouths into the southern sea and forms the island called Patalene.

A TENT OF THE PRIMITIVE LEPCHAS IN NORTHEAST INDIA.

Alexander's intention was to relinquish the march toward the parts situated to the east, first, because he was prevented from crossing the Hypanis; next, because he learned by experience the falsehood of the reports he had previously received to the effect that

the plains were burnt up with fire and more fit for the haunts of wild beasts than for the habitations of men. He therefore set out in this direction, relinquishing the other track, so that these parts became better known than the other.

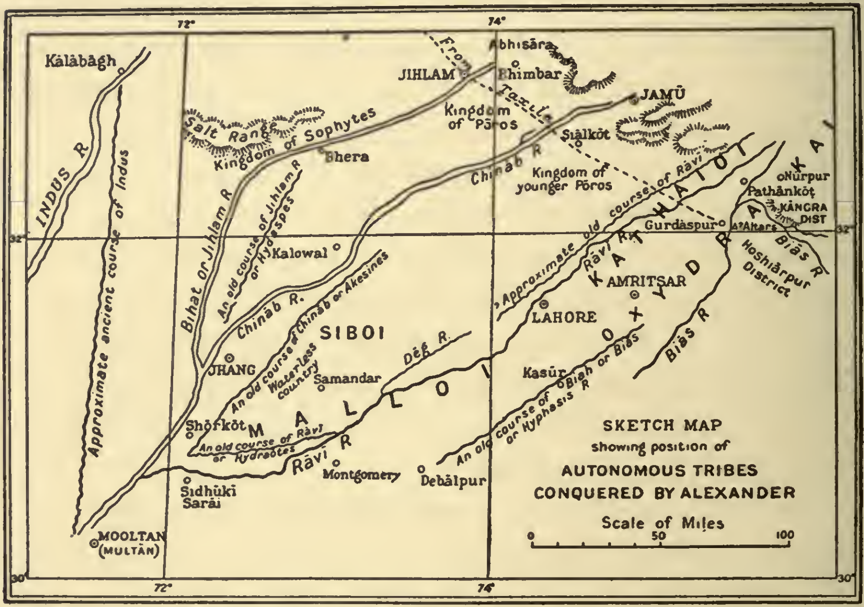
The territory lying between the Hypanis and the Hydaspes is said to contain nine nations and five thousand cities, not less in size than Kos in Meropis (in the Ægean Sea); but the number seems to be exaggerated. We have already mentioned nearly all the nations deserving of notice which inhabit the country situated between the Indus and the Hydaspes.

Below, and next in order, are the people called Sibai and the great nations, the Malloi [1] and Sydrakai (Oxydrakai). It was among the Malloi that Alexander was in danger of losing his life, from a wound he received at the capture of a small city. The Sydrakai are fabled to be allied to Dionysos (Bacchus).

Near Patalene is placed the country of Mousikanos, that of Sabos, whose capital is Sindomana, that of Portikanos, and of other princes who inhabited the country on the banks of the Indus. They were all conquered by Alexander; last of all he made himself master of Patalene, which is formed by the two branches of the Indus. Aristoboulos says that these two branches are one thousand stadia distant from each other. Nearchos adds eight hundred stadia more to this number. Onesikritos reckons each side of the included island,

[1] The Malloi occupied a part of Multan; the Oxydrakai adjoined them in the neighbourhood of Lahore.

which is of a triangular shape, at two thousand stadia; and the breadth of the river, where it is separated into two mouths, at about two hundred stadia. He calls the island Delta, and says that it is as large as the Delta of Egypt; but this is a mistake. For the Egyptian Delta is said to have a base of thirteen hundred stadia,



THE NORTH INDIAN TRIBES CONQUERED BY ALEXANDER.

Reduced from a map by Vincent A. Smith.

and each of the sides is described as less than the base. In Patalene is Patala, a considerable city, from which the island has its name.

Onesikritos says that the greatest part of the coast in this quarter abounds with swamps, particularly at the mouths of the river, which is owing to the mud, the tides, and the absence of land breezes; for these

parts are chiefly under the influence of winds blowing from the sea.

He expatiates also in praise of the country of Mousikanos and relates of the inhabitants what is common to other Indian tribes, that they are long-lived, and that life is protracted even to the age of 130 years (the Seres [Chinese], however, are said by some writers to be still longer lived), and that, although the country produces everything in abundance, they are temperate in their habits and healthy.

The following are their peculiarities. They have a kind of Lacedæmonian common meal, where they eat in public. Their food consists of what is taken in the chase. They make no use of gold or silver, although they have mines of these metals. Instead of slaves, they employ youths in the flower of their age, as the Kretans employ the Aphamiotai, and the Lacedæmonians the Helots. They study no science with attention except that of medicine; for they consider the excessive pursuit of some arts, as that of war and the like, to be committing evil. There is no process at law except against murder and outrage, for it is not in a person's own power to escape either one or the other; but as contracts are in the power of each individual, he must endure the wrong, if good faith is violated by another; for a man should be cautious whom he trusts, and not disturb the city with constant lawsuits.

Such are the accounts of the persons who accompanied Alexander in his expedition.

A letter of Krateros to his mother Aristopatra is

current, which contains many other singular circumstances and differs from every other writer, particularly in saying that Alexander advanced as far as the Ganges. Krateros says that he himself saw the river and the sea monsters which it produces; and his account of its magnitude, breadth, and depth far exceeds, rather than approximates, probability. It is generally agreed that the Ganges is the largest of known rivers in the three continents; the next in size is the Indus; the third is the Istros (Danube); and the fourth, the Nile. But different authors differ in their account of the Ganges, some assigning thirty, others three, stadia as the least breadth. Megasthenes, however, says that its ordinary width is one hundred stadia, and its least depth twenty orguiai (about 120 feet).

At the confluence of the Ganges and of another river there is situated (the city of) Palibothra, in length eighty stadia, and in breadth fifteen stadia. It is in the shape of a parallelogram, surrounded by a wooden wall pierced with openings through which arrows may be discharged. In front is a ditch, which serves the purpose of defence and of a sewer for the city. The people in whose country the city is situated are the most distinguished of all the tribes, and are called Prasioi. The king, besides his family name, has the surname of Palibothros, as the king to whom Megasthenes was sent on an embassy had the name of Sandrokottos.[1] The Parthians have a similar custom, for

[1] Sandrokottos is Chandragupta, mentioned frequently in connection with Alexander in the second volume of the present series.

all have the name Arsakai, although each has his peculiar name of Orodes, Phraates, or some other appellation.

The entire country on the other side of the Hypanis is said to be very fertile, but we have no accurate knowledge of it. Both because of ignorance and owing to its remote situation, everything relative to it is exag-

A ROYAL BENGAL TIGER.
From an old print.

gerated or partakes of the wonderful. As, for example, the stories of myrmekes, or ants, which dig up gold; of animals and men with peculiar shapes, and possessing extraordinary faculties; of the longevity of the Seres, whose lives exceed the age of two hundred years. They speak also of an aristocratic form of government, consisting of five hundred counsellors, each of whom furnishes the state with an elephant.

According to Megasthenes, the largest tigers are found among the Prasioi, and are almost twice as large as lions, and of such strength that a tame one led by

four persons seized a mule by its hinder leg, overpowered it, and dragged it to him. The monkeys are larger than the largest dogs; they are of a white colour, except the face, which is black. The contrary is observed in other places. Their tails are more than two cubits in length. They are very tame and are not of a mischievous disposition. They neither attack people nor do they steal.

Stones are found there of the colour of frankincense, and sweeter than figs or honey.

In some places there are serpents of two cubits in length, with membranous wings like bats. They fly at night and let fall drops of urine or sweat, which causes the skin of persons who are not on their guard to putrefy. There are also winged scorpions of great size. Ebony likewise grows there.

There are also dogs of great courage, which do not let go their hold till water is poured into their nostrils; some of them have their sight distorted, and the eyes of others even fall out because of the tenaciousness of their bite. Both a lion and a bull were held fast by one of these dogs. The bull was caught by the muzzle, and died before the dog could be loosened.

In the mountainous country is a river, the Silas, on the surface of which nothing will float. Demokritos, who had travelled over a large part of Asia, disbelieves this, and Aristotle does not credit it, although atmospheres exist so rare that no bird can sustain its flight in them. Some ascending vapours also attract and absorb, as it were, whatever is flying over them, as

amber attracts chaff, and the magnet iron. Perhaps there may be a similar power in water. As these are matters belonging to physics and to the question of floating bodies, they are referred to them; but at present we must turn to what follows and to the subjects more nearly relating to geography.

It is said that the Indians are divided into seven castes. The first in rank, but the smallest in number, are the philosophers. Persons who offer sacrifice, or make oblations to the dead, have the services of these persons on their private account; but the kings employ them in a public capacity at the time of the Great Assembly, as it is called, when, at the beginning of the new year, all the philosophers repair to the king at the gate. At that time any useful designs which they have made relating to a prosperous season for crops and animals, and any observations they have made regarding the government of the state are publicly declared. If any one is caught giving false information three times, he is enjoined by law to maintain silence during the rest of his life; but any one who has made correct observations is exempted from all contributions and tribute.

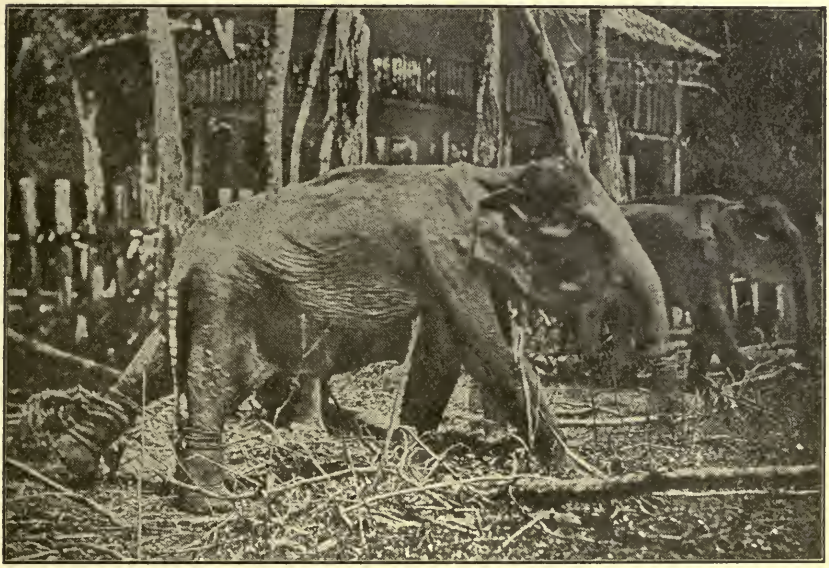
The second caste is that of husbandmen, who constitute the majority of natives and are a most mild and gentle people, as they are exempted from military service and cultivate their land free from alarm. They neither resort to cities to transact private business nor take part in public turmoils. It therefore frequently happens that at the same time, and in the same part

of the country, one body of men are in battle array and engaged in contests with the enemy, while others are ploughing or digging in security, having these soldiers to protect them. The whole of the territory belongs to the king; and the people rent the land which they cultivate, besides paying over a fourth part of the produce.

The third caste consists of shepherds and hunters, who alone are permitted to hunt, to breed cattle, and to sell or let out for hire beasts of burden. In return for freeing the country from wild beasts and birds, which infest sown fields, they receive an allowance of corn from the king. They lead a wandering life and dwell in tents. No private person is allowed to keep a horse or an elephant. The possession of either one or the other is a royal privilege, and persons are appointed to take care of them.

The manner of hunting the elephant is as follows: a deep ditch is dug around a bare spot, about four or five stadia in extent, and at the place of entrance a very narrow bridge is constructed. Into the enclosure three or four of the tamest female elephants are driven. The men themselves lie in wait under cover of concealed huts. The wild elephants do not approach the stockade by day, but at night they enter the enclosure one by one; when they have passed the entrance, the men secretly close it. They then introduce the strongest of the tame combatants, the drivers of which engage with the wild animals and also wear them out by starving them; when the latter become exhausted by fatigue,

the boldest of the drivers gets down unobserved and creeps under the belly of his own elephant. From this position he creeps beneath the belly of the wild elephant and ties his legs together; when this is done, a signal is given to the tame elephants to beat those which are tied by the legs, till they fall to the ground.



NOOSING WILD ELEPHANTS.
From Moore's The Queen's Empire, The Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.

After they have fallen down, they fasten the wild and tame elephants together by the neck with thongs of raw hide, and, in order that they may not be able to shake off those who are attempting to mount them, the men make cuts in the neck and put thongs of leather into these incisions, so that they submit to their bonds through pain, and therefore remain quiet.

Among the elephants which are taken, those are

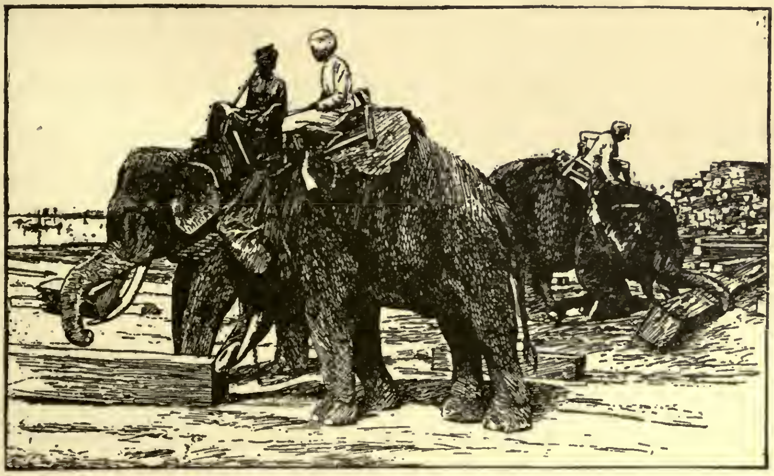
rejected which are too old or too young for service; the remainder are led away to the stables. They tie their feet one to another and their necks to a post firmly fastened in the ground, and then tame them by hunger. They afterwards recruit their strength with green cane and grass. Then they teach the elephants to obey; some of them they train by words; others they pacify by tunes, accompanied with the beating of a drum. Few of the elephants are difficult to tame, for they are naturally of a mild and gentle disposition, so as to approximate to the character of a rational animal. Some have taken up their drivers, who have fallen fainting on the ground, and carried them safe out of battle. Others have fought and protected their drivers, who have crept between their fore-legs. If they have killed any of their feeders or masters in anger, they feel their loss so much that they refuse their food through grief, and sometimes starve themselves to death.

Elephants copulate like horses, and they produce their young chiefly in the spring. That is the season for the male; he is then in heat and is ferocious. At this period he discharges some fatty matter through an opening in the temples. It is the season also for the females, when this same passage is open. Eighteen months is the longest, and sixteen the shortest period of gestation. The dam suckles her young for six years.

Many elephants live as long as men who attain to the greatest longevity, some even to the protracted age of two hundred years. . . . Onesikritos says that they

live three hundred years, and under rare circumstances five hundred, and that they go with young ten years. He and other writers say that they are larger and stronger than the African elephants. They will pull down with their trunks battlements, and uproot trees, standing erect upon their hind feet.

According to Nearchos, traps are laid in the hunting



ELEPHANTS AT WORK HAULING TIMBER.

grounds, at certain places where roads meet; the wild elephants are forced into the toils by the tame elephants, which are stronger and are guided by a driver. They become so tame and docile that they learn even to throw a stone at a mark, to use military weapons, and to be excellent swimmers. A chariot drawn by elephants is esteemed a most important possession, and they are driven without bridles. A woman who receives from her lover an elephant as a present is greatly honoured, but this does not accord with what has been

said before, that a horse and an elephant are the property of kings alone.

This writer says that he saw skins of the myrmekes, or ants, which dig up gold, and that they are like the skins of leopards. Megasthenes, however, speaking of the myrmekes, says that among the Derdai (Dards), a populous nation of the Indians, living toward the east and among the mountains, there was a mountain plain of about three thousand stadia in circumference; that under this plain there were mines containing gold, which the myrmekes, in size not less than foxes, dig up. These animals are excessively fleet, and subsist on what they catch. In winter they dig holes and pile up the earth in heaps, like moles, at the mouths of the openings. The gold-dust which these creatures obtain requires little refining. The people of the neighbourhood go after it stealthily with beasts of burden, for if this is done openly, the myrmekes fight furiously, pursuing those that run away, and if they catch them, kill them as well as the beasts. In order to prevent discovery, therefore, they put pieces of the flesh of wild beasts in different places, and when the myrmekes are dispersed in various directions, the men take away the gold-dust and dispose of it in its rude state at any price to merchants, for they are not acquainted with the mode of smelting it.

Having mentioned what Megasthenes and other writers relate of the hunters and the beasts of prey, we shall add the following particulars.

Nearchos is surprised at the multitude as well as

the noxious nature of the reptiles. At the period of the inundations they retreat from the plains to the settlements, which are not covered with water, and swarm in the houses. For this reason the inhabitants raise their beds to some height from the ground, and are sometimes compelled to abandon their dwellings, when they are infested by great multitudes of these creatures; and, if a large proportion of these multitudes were not destroyed by the waters, the country would be uninhabitable. Both the minuteness of some animals and the excessive magnitude of others are causes of danger; the former, because it is difficult to guard against their attacks; the latter, on account of their strength, for snakes are to be seen of sixteen cubits in length. Charmers go about the country and are supposed to cure serpent bites. This seems to comprise almost their whole art of medicine, for disease is not common among them, owing to their frugal manner of life and to the absence of wine; whenever diseases do occur, they are treated by the Sophistai, or wise men.

Aristoboulos says that he saw no animals of these pretended magnitudes, except a snake which was nine cubits and a span in length, and I myself saw in Egypt one that was nearly of the same size and had been brought from India. Aristoboulus also says that he saw many adders of a much smaller size, and asps and large scorpions. None of these, however, are so noxious as the slender small serpents, a span long, which are found concealed in tents, in jars, and in hedges.

Persons wounded by them bleed from every pore, suffer great pain, and die, unless they have immediate assistance; but this assistance is easily obtained by means of the virtues of the Indian roots and drugs.

Few crocodiles are found in the Indus, Aristoboulos says, and these are harmless, but most of the other animals, except the hippopotamus, are the same as those found in the Nile; though Onesikritos says that this animal also is found there. On account of the crocodiles, according to Aristoboulos, none of the sea fish, except the shad, the gray mullet, and dolphin, ascend the Nile from the sea; but great numbers ascend the river Indus. Small crawfish go up as far as the mountains, and the larger as far as the confluence of the Indus and the Akesines.

A SNAKE-CHARMER AT BENARES.

So much then on the subject of the wild animals of India. We shall return to Megasthenes and resume our account of the castes at the point where we digressed.

After the hunters and the shepherds, follows the fourth caste, which consists, he says, of those who work at trades, retail wares, and who are employed in bodily labour. Some of these pay taxes and perform certain stated services. But the armour-makers and ship-builders receive wages and provisions from the king, for whom only they work. The general-in-chief furnishes the soldiers with arms, and the admiral lets out ships for hire to those who undertake voyages and traffic as merchants.

The fifth caste consists of fighting men, who pass the time not employed in the field in idleness and drinking, and are maintained at the charge of the king. They are ready whenever they are wanted to march on an expedition, for they bring nothing of their own with them, except their bodies.

The sixth caste is that of the Ephoroi, or inspectors. They are intrusted with the superintendence of all that is going on, and it is their duty to make private reports to the king. The city inspectors employ the courtezans of the town as their coadjutors; and the inspectors of the camp enlist the services of the women who follow it. The best and most faithful persons are appointed to the office of inspector.

The seventh caste consists of counsellors and assessors of the king. To these persons belong the offices of state, tribunals of justice, and the whole administration of affairs.

It is not permitted to contract marriage with a person of another caste, or to change from one profes-

sion or trade to another, or for the same person to undertake several, unless he is of the caste of philosophers, when permission is given on account of his superior qualifications.

Of the magistrates, some have charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiery. The first supervise the rivers, measure the land, as in Egypt, and inspect the closed reservoirs, from which water is distributed by canals, so that all may have an equal use of it. These persons have charge also of the hunters, and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either. They collect the taxes and superintend the occupations connected with land, as woodcutters, carpenters, workers in brass, and miners. They construct the public roads, and place a pillar at every ten stadia (2022½ English yards) to indicate the byways and distances.

Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The first has the inspection of everything relating to the mechanical arts; members of the second body entertain strangers, assign lodgings to them, observe their mode of life by means of attendants whom they attach to them, and escort them out of the country on their departure. If the strangers die, they take charge of forwarding their property (to their relatives), as well as having had the care of them when sick and burying them when they die.

The third class consists of those who inquire at what time and in what manner births and deaths take place, which is done with a view to taxation, and in order that

the deaths and births of persons both of good and bad character may not be concealed.

The fourth division consists of those who have to do with sales and exchanges. They have charge of

SAWING TIMBER.

measures and of the sale of products in season, duly regulated by stamp. The same person is not allowed to deal in various kinds of articles, unless he pays a double tax.

The fifth division presides over works of artisans, and disposes of articles, as regulated by stamp. New articles are sold separately from the old, and there is a fine imposed for mixing them together.

The sixth and last division comprises those who col-

lect the tenth of the price of the articles sold. Death is the punishment for committing a fraud with regard to the tax.

These are the peculiar duties performed by each class, but in their collective capacity they have charge both of private and of public affairs, and of the repairs of public works, walls, markets, harbours, and temples.

Next to the magistrates of the city there is a third body of governors, to whom is entrusted the care of military affairs. This class also consists of six divisions, each composed of five persons. One division is associated with the chief naval superintendent, another with the person who has the charge of the bullock-teams, by which military engines are transported, of provisions both for the men and beasts, and of other requisites for the army. They furnish attendants, who beat drums and carry gongs; and they also provide grooms, mechanics, and their assistants. They despatch the foragers for grass by the sound of the gong, and insure speed and security by means of rewards and punishments. The third division has the care of the infantry; the fourth, of the cavalry; the fifth, of the chariots; the sixth, of the elephants. There are royal stables for the horses and elephants. There is also a royal magazine of arms; for the soldier returns his arms to the armoury, and the horse and elephant to their stables. They use the elephants without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen. The horses are led by a halter, in order that their legs may not be chafed and inflamed, nor their spirit broken, by drawing

chariots. Besides the charioteer, there are two persons who fight by his side in the chariot. With the elephant are four persons, the driver and three bowmen, who discharge arrows from his back.

All the Indians are frugal in their mode of life, and

PREPARING RICE FOR FOOD.

especially in camp. They do not like an unnecessary rabble and they are, therefore, well disciplined. Theft is very rare among them. Megasthenes, who was in the camp of Sandrokottos, which consisted of four

hundred thousand men, did not on any day see a report of thefts exceeding the sum of two hundred drachmai, and this among a people who have no written laws, who are ignorant even of writing, and regulate everything by memory. They are, however, happy on account of their simple manners and frugal way of life. They never drink wine, except at sacrifices. Their beverage is made from rice instead of barley, and their food consists for the most part of rice pottage. The simplicity of their laws and contracts appears from their not having many lawsuits. They have no suits respecting pledges and deposits, nor do they require witnesses or seals, but make their deposits and trust one another. Their houses and property, moreover, are unguarded. These things denote temperance and sobriety; but there are others, of which no one would approve, such as their always eating alone, and their not having one common hour for their meals, but each taking it as he likes. The contrary custom is more agreeable to the habits of social and civil life.

As an exercise of the body they prefer friction (or massage) in various ways, but particularly by making use of smooth sticks of ebony, which they pass over the surface of the body.[1]

Their burials are simple, and the tumuli of earth low. In contrast to their parsimony in other things they indulge in ornament. They wear ornaments made of gold and precious stones, and flowered robes, and

[1] This Indian custom of rubbing or massage is referred to in Sanskrit writings and also is mentioned by other authors.

are attended by persons following them with umbrellas; for as they highly esteem beauty, attention is given to everything which can improve their looks.

They respect alike truth and virtue; therefore they do not assign any privilege to the old, unless they possess superior wisdom.

They marry many wives, who are purchased from their parents, and give in exchange for them a yoke of oxen. Some marry wives to possess obedient attendants, others with a view to pleasure and numerous offspring, and the wives may prostitute themselves, unless chastity is enforced by compulsion.

No one wears a garland when sacrificing, or burning incense, or pouring out a libation. They do not stab, but strangle the victim, so that nothing mutilated, but only that which is entire, may be offered to the Deity.

A person convicted of bearing false witness suffers a mutilation of his extremities. He who has maimed another not only undergoes in return the loss of the same limb, but his hand also is cut off. If he has caused a workman to lose his hand or his eye, he is put to death.

Megasthenes says that none of the Indians employ slaves, but, according to Onesikritos, this is peculiar to the people in the territory of Mousikanos. He speaks of this as an excellent rule and mentions many others to be found in that country, as the effects of a government by good laws.

The care of the king's person is committed to women, who are also purchased from their parents. The body-guard, and the rest of the military, are stationed

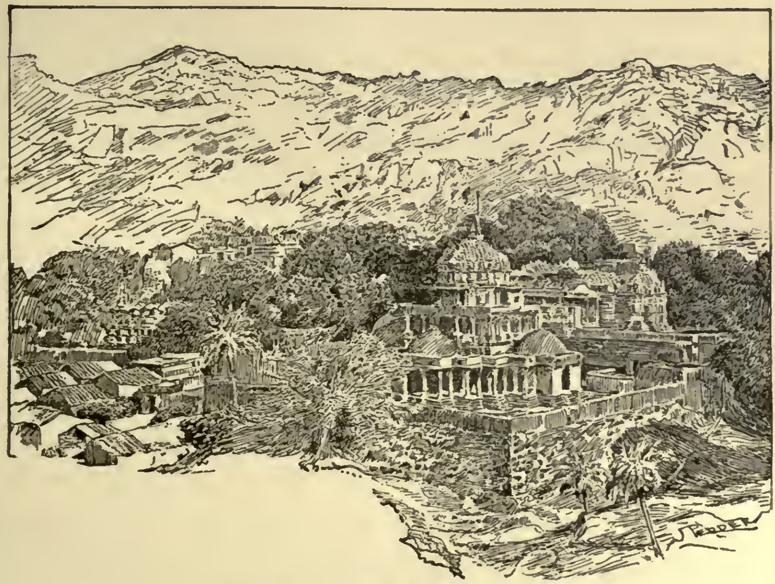
outside the gates. A woman, who puts to death a king when drunk, is rewarded by becoming the wife of his successor. The sons succeed the father. The king may not sleep during the day-time, and at night he is obliged from time to time to change his bed, from fear of treachery.

Beside leaving his palace in time of war, the king leaves it also when he goes to sit in his court as a judge. He remains there all day thus occupied, not suffering himself to be interrupted even though the time arrives for attending to his person. This attention to his person consists of rubbing (or massage) with pieces of wood, and he continues to listen to the case under consideration, while the friction is performed by four massageurs who stand around him. Another occasion of the king's leaving his palace is to offer sacrifice. The third is a sort of Bacchanalian start on the chase. Crowds of women surround him, and spearmen are stationed outside of these. The road is set off with ropes; a man, or even a woman, who passes within the ropes is put to death. The king is preceded by drums and gongs. He hunts in the enclosures and discharges his arrows from a high seat. Near him stand two or three armed women. When hunting in the open, he shoots his arrows from an elephant. Of the women some are in chariots, some on horses, and others on elephants; they are provided with all kinds of weapons, as if they were going on a military expedition.'

Strabo next devotes a page or more to some fabulous accounts of Eastern peoples, several of them being

tribes in India, as told by Megasthenes and others. He then proceeds on the authority of Megasthenes to describe the Hindu philosophers and their remarkable powers of asceticism.

'Speaking of the philosophers, Megasthenes says



THE DILWARA TEMPLE AT MOUNT ABU.

that those who inhabit the mountains are worshippers of Dionysos (Bacchus), and show as a proof (of the god having come among them) the wild vine, which grows only in their country, the ivy, the laurel, the myrtle, the box-tree, and other evergreens, none of which are found beyond the Euphrates, except a few in parks, which are preserved only with great care. Other Bacchanalian customs are the wearing of robes and turbans, the use of perfumes, dressing in dyed and flowered garments, and for their kings to be preceded by gongs

and drums when they leave their palaces and appear abroad. But the philosophers who live in the plains worship Herakles (Hercules).

These are fabulous stories and are contradicted by many writers, particularly what is said about the vine and wine, because a great part of Armenia and the whole of Mesopotamia and Media, as far as Persia and Karmania, are beyond the Euphrates, and yet the greater part of these countries is said to abound in vines and to produce wine.

Megasthenes again divides the philosophers into two kinds, the Brachmanes (Brahmans) and the Garmanes (Sarmanes). The Brachmanes are held in greater repute, for they agree with each other more closely in their views. Even from the time of their conception in the womb they are under the care and guardianship of learned men, who go to the mother and seem to perform some incantation for the happiness and welfare of the mother and the unborn child, but in reality they suggest prudent advice, and the mothers who listen to them most willingly are thought to be the most fortunate in their offspring. After the birth of the children, there is a succession of persons who have the care of them, and as they advance in years, masters more able and accomplished succeed to the charge.

The philosophers live in a grove in front of the city within a moderate-sized enclosure. Their diet is frugal, and they lie upon straw pallets and on skins. They abstain from eating animal food and from sexual intercourse; their time is occupied in listening to grave dis-

course and in imparting it to those who wish to listen to them; but the hearer is not permitted to speak or cough, or even to spit on the ground; otherwise, he is expelled that very day from their society, because of his lack of self-control. After living thirty-seven years in this manner, each individual retires to his own possessions and lives with less circumspection and restraint, wearing robes of fine linen and rings of gold upon the hands and in the ears, but without profuseness. They eat the flesh of animals that do not assist man in his labour, and they abstain from sharp and seasoned food. They have as many wives as they please with a view to numerous offspring, for from many wives greater advantages are derived. As they have no slaves, they require more the immediate services of their children.

The Brachmanes do not communicate their philosophy to their wives, for fear they should divulge to the profane, if they became depraved, anything which ought to be concealed; or lest they should abandon their husbands in case they became good (philosophers) themselves. For no one who despises alike pleasure and pain, life and death, is willing to be subject to the authority of another; and such is the character of a virtuous man and a virtuous woman.

They discourse much on death, for it is their opinion that the present life is the state of one just conceived, and that to philosophers death is birth to the true and happy life. They therefore discipline themselves much to prepare for death, and maintain that nothing

which happens to man is bad or good, for otherwise the same things would not be the occasion of sorrow to some and of joy to others, opinions being merely dreams, nor that the same persons could be affected with sorrow and joy by the same things on different occasions.

With regard to opinions on physical phenomena, they display, says Megasthenes, great simplicity, their actions being better than their reasoning, for their belief is founded chiefly on fables. On many subjects their views are the same as those of the Greeks. According to the Brachmanes, the world was created and is liable to corruption; it is of a spheroidal figure; the god who made and governs it pervades the whole of it; the principles of all things are different, but the principle of the world's formation was water; in addition to the four elements there is a fifth nature, of which the heavens and the stars are composed; the earth is situated in the centre of the universe. Many other similar things they say of the principle of generation and of the soul. They weave in fables also, after the manner of Plato, on the immortality of the soul, and on the punishments in Hades, and other things of this kind. Such is the account which Megasthenes gives of the Brachmanes.

Of the Garmanes (Sarmanes), the most honourable, he says, are the Hylobioi, who live in the forests and subsist on leaves and wild fruits; they are clothed with garments made of the bark of trees, and they abstain from intercourse with women and from wine. The kings hold communication with them by messengers,

concerning the causes of things, and through them worship and supplicate the Divinity.

Second in honour to the Hylobioi are the physicians, for they apply philosophy to the study of the nature of man. They are of frugal habits, but do not live in the fields, and they subsist upon rice and meal, which every one gives when asked; and every one receives them hospitably. By means of charms they are able to cause persons to have numerous offspring and to have either male or female children. They cure diseases by diet, rather than by medicinal remedies. Among the latter, the most in repute are unguents and cataplasms. All others, they suppose, are, to a large extent, improper to use.

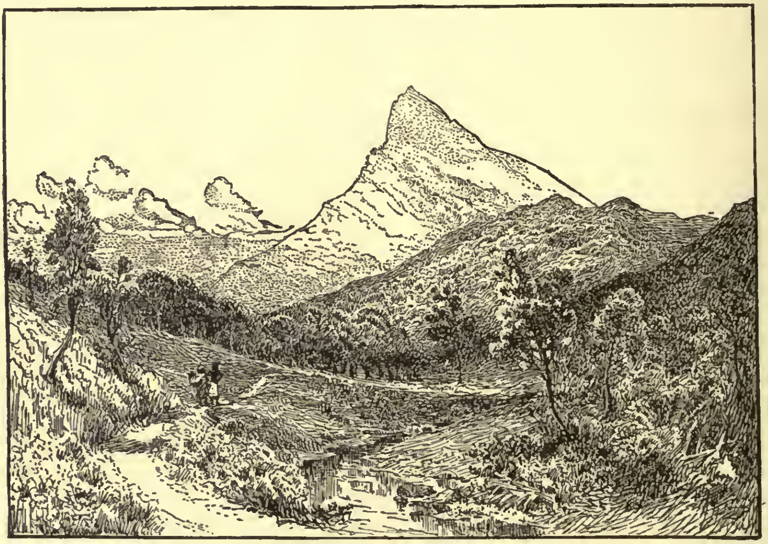
A HINDU ASCETIC IN A TRANCE.

Both this and the other class of persons practise self-denial, as well in supporting active toil as in enduring suffering, so that they will continue a whole day in the same posture without moving.

There are enchanters and diviners, versed in the rites and customs relating to the dead, and they go about villages and towns begging. There are others, more civilized and better informed, who inculcate the

vulgar opinions concerning Hades, which tend to piety and sanctity according to their ideas. Women study philosophy with some of them, but abstain from sexual intercourse.

Aristoboulos says that he saw at Taxila two sophists, or wise men, both Brachmanes; the elder had his head shaved, but the younger wore his hair; both were



AN INDIAN SCENE.

attended by disciples. When not otherwise engaged, they spent their time in the market-place. They were honoured as public counsellors, and had the liberty of taking, without payment, whatever article they liked that was exposed for sale. When any one accosted them, he poured over them oil of sesame, in such profusion that it ran down over their eyes. Of honey and sesame, which was exposed for sale in large quan-

tity, they took enough to make cakes, and were fed without expense.

They came up to Alexander's table and took their meal standing by, and they gave an example of their fortitude by retiring to a neighbouring spot, where the elder, falling flat on the ground, endured the sun and the rain, which had now set in, as it was the beginning of spring. The other stood on one leg, with a piece of wood three cubits in length raised in both hands; when one leg was tired he changed the support to the other, and continued thus the whole day. The younger appeared to possess much more self-command; for, after following the king a short distance, he soon returned to his home. Alexander sent after him, but he bade the king to come to him, if he wanted anything of him. The other accompanied the king to the last. After being with him he changed his dress and altered his mode of life, and when reproached for his conduct, answered that he had completed the forty years of discipline which he had promised to observe. Alexander made presents to his children.

Aristoboulos relates also some strange and unusual customs of the people of Taxila. Those who through poverty are unable to marry their daughters, expose them for sale in the market-place, in the flower of their age, to the sound of shell trumpets and drums, with which the war-note is given. A crowd is thus assembled. First her back is uncovered as far as the shoulders, then the parts in front, for the examination of any man who comes for this purpose. If she pleases

him, he marries her on such conditions as may be determined upon.

The dead are thrown out to be devoured by vultures. To have many wives is a custom common to these and to other nations. Aristoboulos says he heard from some persons that wives burned themselves voluntarily with their deceased husbands, and that those women who refused to submit to this custom were disgraced. The same things have been told by other writers.[1]

Onesikritos says that he himself was sent to converse with these wise men, because Alexander heard that they went about naked, practised mortification of the body, and were held in the highest honour; that, when invited, they did not go to other persons, but commanded others to come to them if they wished to participate in their exercises or their conversation. Such being their character, Alexander did not consider it to be consistent with propriety to go to them, or to compel them to do anything contrary to their inclination or against the custom of their country; he therefore despatched Onesikritos to them.

Onesikritos found, at the distance of twenty stadia from the city, fifteen men standing in different postures, sitting or lying down naked, who continued in these positions until the evening, and then returned to the city. The most difficult thing to endure was the heat of the sun, which was so powerful that no one else could endure without pain to walk on the ground at mid-day with bare feet.

[1] See the descriptions in the next chapter.

He conversed with Kalanos (Calanus), one of these sophists, who accompanied the king to Persia and died after the custom of his country, being placed on a pile of burning wood. When Onesikritos came, he was lying upon stones. Onesikritos approached, addressed him, and told him that he had been sent by the king for the

A STATUETTE OF A HINDU ASCETIC.

purpose of listening to his wisdom, and that he was to give an account of his interview, and, if there were no objection, he was ready to listen to his discourse. When Kalanos saw his mantle, head-covering, and shoes, he laughed, and said: "Formerly there was abundance everywhere of corn and barley, as there is now of dust; fountains then flowed with water, milk, honey, wine, and oil, but mankind by repletion and

luxury became proud and insolent. Zeus, indignant at this state of things, destroyed all and appointed a life of toil for man. On the re-appearance of temperance and other virtues, there was again an abundance of good things; but at present the condition of mankind approaches satiety and insolence, and there is danger lest the things which now exist should disappear."

When he had finished, he proposed to Onesikritos, if he wished to hear his discourse, to strip off his clothes, to lie down naked by him on the same stones, and in that manner to listen to him. While the latter was hesitating what to do, Mandanis,[1] who was the oldest and wisest of the sophists, reproached Kalanos for his insolence, although he censured such insolence himself. Mandanis then called Onesikritos to him and said: "I commend the king, because, although he governs so large an empire, he is nevertheless desirous of acquiring wisdom, for he is the only person I ever saw philosophizing in arms. It would be of the greatest advantage, if those who have the power of persuading the willing and of compelling the unwilling to learn temperance, were philosophers. But I am entitled to indulgence if I am not able to demonstrate the utility of philosophy, when I have to converse through the medium of three interpreters who know nothing more than the common people, except the language. To attempt it is to expect water to flow pure through mud."

The tendency of his discourse, Onesikritos said, was this, that the best philosophy was that which liberated

[1] By Arrian and Plutarch he is called Dandamis.

Monolithic Carvings of the Temple at Mahabalipuram, Madras Presidency.

the mind from pleasure and grief; that grief differed from labour in that the former was inimical, the latter friendly to men, inasmuch as men laboriously exercised their bodies in order to strengthen the mental powers, by which means they might be able to put an end to dissensions and give good counsel to all, both to the community and to individuals; that at present he certainly would advise Taxiles to receive Alexander as a friend; for if he entertained a person better than himself, he might be improved, but if a worse person, he might dispose the latter to good.

After this Mandanis inquired whether such doctrines were taught among the Greeks. Onesikritos answered that Pythagoras taught a similar doctrine, and enjoined his disciples to abstain from whatever has life; that Sokrates and Diogenes, whose discourses he had heard, held the same opinions. Mandanis replied that in other respects he thought them wise, but that in one thing they were mistaken, namely, in preferring custom to nature, for otherwise they would not be ashamed of going naked, like himself, and of subsisting on frugal fare; for the best house was that which required least repairs.

Onesikritos says also that the philosophers occupy themselves much with physical science, as prognostics, rain, drought, and diseases. When they repair to the city, they disperse themselves in the market-places; if they meet any one carrying figs or bunches of grapes, they take what is offered gratuitously; if it is oil, it is poured over them, and they are anointed with it.

Every wealthy house, even to the women's apartment, is open to them; when they enter it, they engage in conversation and partake of the repast. Disease of the body they regard as most disgraceful, and he who catches it, prepares a pyre and destroys himself by fire. He first anoints himself, then, sitting down upon the pyre, he orders it to be lighted, remaining motionless while he is burning.

Nearchos gives the following account of the sophists. The Brachmanes engage in public affairs, and attend the kings as counsellors; the rest are occupied in the study of nature. Kalanos belonged to the latter class. Women study philosophy with them, and all lead an austere life.

Of the customs of the other Indians he says that their laws, whether relating to the community or to individuals, are not committed to writing, and differ altogether from those of other people. It is the practice among some tribes, for example, to set up virgins as prizes to the victors in a trial of skill in boxing; wherefore they marry without portions. Among other tribes the ground is cultivated by families and in common; when the produce is collected, each takes a load sufficient for his subsistence during the year; the remainder is burned, in order to have a reason for renewing their labour, and not remaining inactive.

Their weapons consist of a bow and arrows, which are three cubits in length, or a javelin, and a shield, and a broadsword three cubits long. Instead of bridles,

they use muzzles, which differ little from a halter, and the lip-straps are perforated with spikes.

Nearchos, producing proofs of the skill of the Indians in works of art, says that when they saw sponges in use among the Macedonians, they imitated them by sewing hairs, thin threads, and strings in wool; after the wool was felted, they drew out the hairs, threads, and strings, and dyed it with colours. There quickly appeared also manufactures of brushes for the body, and of vessels for oil (lekythoi). They write letters, he says, upon cloth that is smoothed by being well beaten, although other authors affirm that they have no knowledge of writing. They use brass which is cast and not wrought. He does not give a reason for this, although he mentions the strange fact that if vessels of this description fall to the ground, they break like those made of clay.

INDIAN FOOT-SOLDIERS.
From an Ajanta Cave Painting. (After Griffiths.)

The following custom also is mentioned in accounts of India, that, instead of prostrating themselves before their kings, it is usual to address them, and all persons in authority and high station, with a prayer.

The country produces precious stones, as crystal, carbuncles of all kinds, and pearls.

As an instance of the disagreement among histori-

ans, we may adduce their different accounts of Kalanos. They all agree that he accompanied Alexander and underwent a voluntary death by fire in his presence, but they differ as to the manner and cause of his death.

Some give the following account. Kalanos accompanied the king, as the rehearser of his praises, beyond the boundaries of India, contrary to the common Indian custom; for the philosophers attend upon their kings and act as instructors in the worship of the gods, in the same manner as the Magi attend the Persian kings. When he fell sick at Pasargadai, being then attacked with disease for the first time in his life, he put himself to death at the age of seventy-three years, regardless of the entreaties of the king. A pyre was raised, and a gilded couch placed upon it. He lay down upon it, and covering himself up, was burned to death.

Others say that a chamber was constructed of wood, which was filled with the leaves of trees, and a pyre being raised upon the roof, he was shut up in it, according to his directions, after the procession, with which he had been accompanied, had arrived at the spot. He threw himself upon the pyre and was consumed like a log of wood, together with the chamber.

Megasthenes says that self-destruction is not a dogma of the philosophers, and that those who commit this act are accounted foolhardy; that some, who are harsh by nature, inflict wounds upon their bodies, or cast themselves down precipices; those who are impatient of pain drown themselves; those who can en-

AN ELEPHANT IN A ROYAL PROCESSION AT BARODA.

dure pain strangle themselves; and those of ardent tempers throw themselves into the fire. Of this last description was Kalanos, who had no control over himself and was a slave to the table of Alexander. Kalanos is censured, while Mandanis is applauded. When Alexander's messengers invited the latter to come to the son of Zeus, promising a reward if he would comply, and threatening punishment if he refused, he answered, "Alexander was not the son of Zeus, for he did not govern even the smallest portion of the earth; nor did he himself desire a gift from one who was satisfied with nothing. Neither did he fear his threats, for as long as he lived India would supply him with food enough, and when he died, he should be delivered from the flesh wasted by old age and be translated to a better and purer state of existence." Alexander commended and pardoned him.

Historians also relate that the Indians worship Zeus Ombrios ("the Rainy"), the river Ganges, and the local divinities of the country; that when the king washes his hair,[1] a great feast is celebrated, and large presents are sent, each person displaying his wealth in competition with his neighbour.

They say that some of the gold-digging myrmekes (ants) have wings, and that the rivers, like those of Iberia, bring down gold-dust.

In processions at their festivals, many elephants are in the train, adorned with gold and silver, numerous carriages drawn by four horses and by several pairs

[1] On his birthday, Herodotus, 9. 110.

of oxen; then follows a body of attendants in full dress, bearing vessels of gold, large kettles, and huge bowls, an orguia (about six feet) in breadth, tables, chairs of state, drinking-cups, and lavers of Indian copper, most of which are set with precious stones, as emeralds, beryls, and Indian carbuncles, and wearing garments embroidered and interwoven with gold. In the procession are also wild beasts, as buffaloes, panthers, tame lions, and a multitude of birds of variegated plumage and of fine song.

Kleitarchos speaks of four-wheeled carriages bearing trees with large leaves, from which were suspended (in cages) different kinds of tame birds, among which the orion[1] was said to possess the sweetest note, but the katreus (bird of paradise?) was the most beautiful in appearance, and had the most variegated plumage. In shape it approached nearest to the peacock, but the rest of the description must be taken from Kleitarchos.

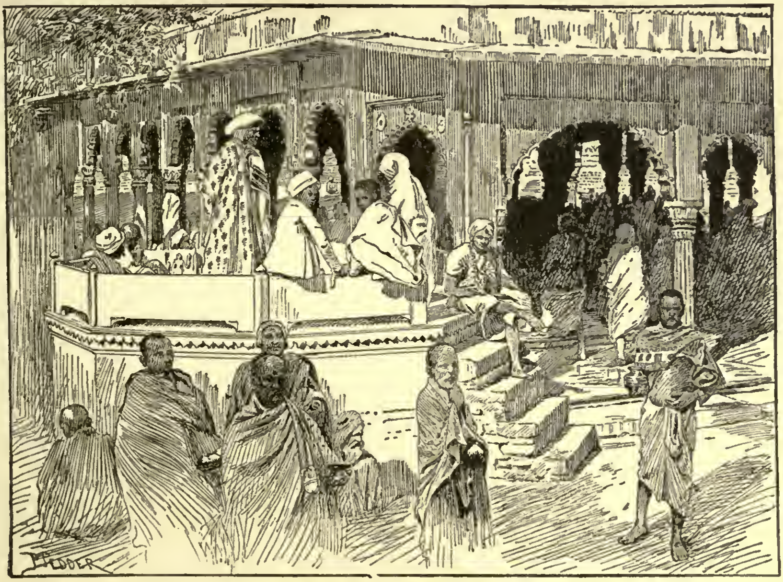
Opposed to the Brachmanes there are philosophers called Pramnai (Buddhists), contentious and fond of argument. They ridicule the Brachmanes as boasters and fools for occupying themselves with natural science and astronomy. Some of the Pramnai are called Pramnai of the Mountains, others Gymnetai, and others again are called Townsmen and Countrymen. The Pramnai of the Mountains wear deerskins and carry scrips filled with roots and drugs; they profess to practise medicine by means of incantations, charms, and amulets.

The Gymnetai, as their name imports, go naked and

[1] Ælian, *De Animalium Natura*, 17. 22.

live chiefly in the open air, practising asceticism for the space of thirty-seven years, as I have mentioned above. Women live in their society, but without cohabitation. The Gymnetai are held in high esteem.

The Townsmen (Pramnai) dwell in cities and wear fine linen, or also in the country, clothed in the skins



HINDUS AT THE WELL OF KNOWLEDGE, BENARES.

of fawns or antelopes. In short, the Indians wear white garments, white linen and muslin, contrary to the accounts of those who say that they wear garments of a bright colour; all of them wear long hair and long beards, plait their hair, and bind it with a fillet.

Artemidoros says that the Ganges descends from the Emoda Mountains and proceeds toward the south; when it arrives at the city Ganges, it turns to the east, and

keeps this direction as far as Palibothra (Patna) and the mouth by which it discharges itself into the sea. He calls one of the rivers which flow into it Oidanes, which breeds crocodiles and dolphins. Some other circumstances besides are mentioned by him, but in so confused and negligent a manner that they are not to be regarded. To these accounts may be added that of Nikolaos Damaskenos.

This writer states that at Antioch near Daphne,[1] he met with ambassadors from the Indians, who were sent to Augustus Cæsar. From the letter it appeared that several persons were mentioned in it, but only three, whom he says he saw, survived. The rest had died, chiefly in consequence of the length of the journey. The letter was written in Greek upon a skin; the import of it was that Poros was the writer; that although he was sovereign of six hundred kings, he nevertheless esteemed the friendship of Cæsar highly; and that he was willing to allow him a passage through his country, in whatever direction he pleased, and to assist him in any undertaking that was just.

Eight naked servants, with girdles around their waists and fragrant with perfumes, presented the gifts which were brought. The presents were a Hermes (*i. e.* a man) born without arms, whom I have seen, large snakes, a serpent ten cubits in length, a river

[1] An unimportant town in the pashalic of Aleppo, the modern name of which is still Antakieh. In ancient times it was distinguished either as Antioch on the Orontes, because it was situated on the left bank of that river, or as Antioch near Daphne, because of a celebrated grove of Daphne, which was consecrated to Apollo.

tortoise of three cubits in length, and a partridge larger than a vulture. The ambassadors were accompanied by the person, it is said, who burnt himself to death at Athens. This is the practice with persons in distress, who seek escape from existing calamities, and with others in prosperous circumstances, as was the case with this man. For as everything hitherto had succeeded with him, he thought it necessary to depart, lest some unexpected calamity should happen to him by continuing to live; with a smile, therefore, naked, anointed, and with his girdle round his waist, he leaped upon the pyre. On his tomb was this inscription,— Here lies Zarmanochegas,[1] an Indian, a native of Bargose,[2] having immortalized himself according to the custom of his country.'

[1] In Dio Cassius, 54. 9, he is called Zarmanos, a variation probably of Sarmanos or Garmanos.

[2] Bargosa is a corruption of Barygaza mentioned in Arrian's Periplus of the Red Sea — the Sanskrit Bhrigukaccha, the Modern Broach.

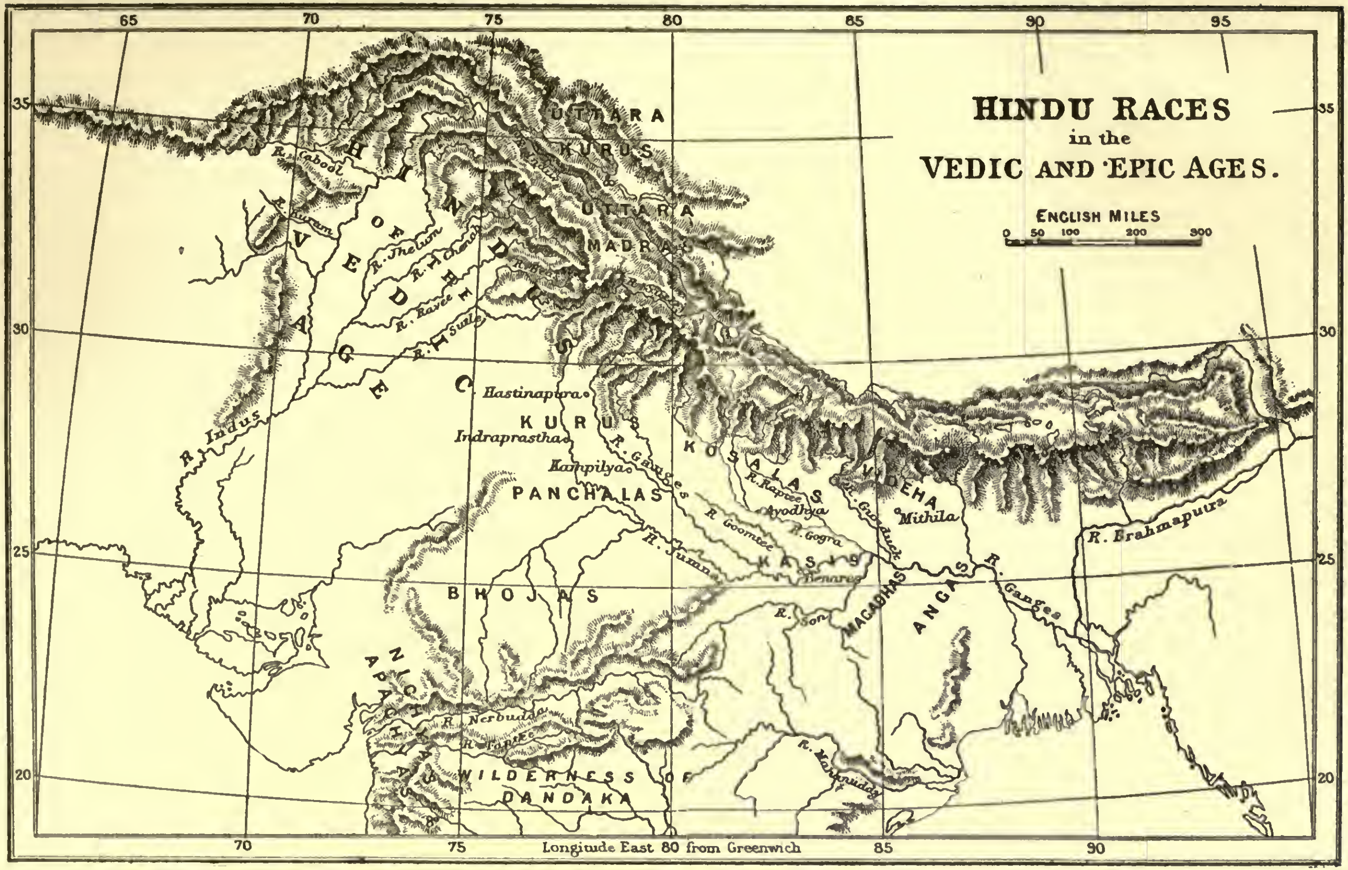
AN OLD BUDDHIST RELIEF FROM THE BHARAHAT STUPA.

CHAPTER II

THE PRACTICE OF SUTTEE, OR WIDOW-BURNING, IN INDIA, ACCORDING TO GREEK, LATIN, ARABIC, PERSIAN, ITALIAN, DUTCH, FRENCH, AND ENGLISH ACCOUNTS

AMONG the peculiar Hindu customs sanctioned by antiquity and practised until a century ago, when it was abolished by an act of the British government, was the inhuman practice of "suttee," or widow-burning. The word "suttee," derived from the Sanskrit *satī*, literally means "a true wife," and the term was properly applied to a woman whose faithful devotion to her husband, during his lifetime, earned for her this well-deserved title of praise; but it came early to be used as the special designation of the wife whose love for her lord and master led her to sacrifice herself in the flames of his funeral pyre. This latter employment of the term has unfortunately been the general one for ages, so that suttee and widow-burning are synonymous.

As was pointed out in the first volume of this series (p. 61), there has been much discussion as to whether this Indian custom dates back to the ancient period


HINDU RACES
in the
VEDIC AND EPIC AGES.
ENGLISH MILES
0 50 100 200 300
UTTARA
KURUS
&
UTTARA
MADRAS
HINDU KUSH
AGE OF VEDIC HINDUS
R. Cabool
R. Kurum
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
R. Ravee
R. Sutlej
R. Indus
Hastinapura
KURUS
Indraprastha
Kampilya
PANCHALAS
R. Ganges
KOSALAS
R. Rapee
Ayodhya
R. Goomtee
R. Gogra
R. Jumna
KASIS
Benares
VIDEHA
Mithila
R. Gunduck
MAGADHAS
ANGAS
R. Son
R. Ganges
R. Brahmaputra
BHOJAS
NICHA APACHAS
R. Nerbudda
R. Taptee
WILDERNESS OF DANDAKA
R. Mahanuddy
Longitude East 80 from Greenwich

of the Rig-Veda, and the solution of the question depends largely upon how we are to interpret certain verses of the Funeral Hymn in the tenth book of that collection; but the practice is certainly alluded to in the great Indian epics, Mahabharata and Ramayana, and is frequently mentioned in the later Sanskrit literature belonging to the classical period. On foreign authority, moreover, we can vouch for its existence as early as the fourth century before the Christian era, judging from the sources to which Diodoros Sikelos went back; and during all periods of India's history there is abundant material to show the prevalence of the custom throughout the land, as suttee is a subject regarding which much would naturally be written.[1]

The abolition of the terrible practice was due to the action of the British government in 1829 - 1830, during the Indian administration of Lord Bentinck, whose name will always be connected with this beneficent act for the advancement of the cause of humanity in India, and with it likewise will be associated that of the native ruler, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, who lent his support to the reform. Although forbidden by legislature, sporadic instances of the practice of suttee nevertheless occurred long afterwards, and as recently as November, 1905, the Indian newspapers of Lahore, in Northern Hindustan, reported the fact that a wretched woman in one of the outlying districts had thus perished in the flames—a sacrifice to an ancient fanatical custom,

[1] Consult, for example, the references in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, article "Suttee," and look up the allusions given by Lanman, *Sanskrit Reader*, p. 382.

so difficult to stamp out. An occurrence so recent as that helps to lend colour to the accounts which are here presented, covering a period of fully two thousand years, from classic to mediæval and modern times. The first selections are from Greek and Latin writers.

The Greek historian Nikolaos Damaskenos, who

LORD WILLIAM C. BENTINCK, UNDER WHOSE ADMINISTRATION SUTTEE WAS ABOLISHED.

wrote toward the close of the first century B. C., explicitly states in his "Paradoxical Customs" that "when the Hindus die, they cause to be burned with them the most devoted one of their wives; and there is great rivalry on the part of the wives themselves, as well as of their friends, each striving to gain the day."[1] Plutarch, in the first century A. D., reiterates

[1] Nikolaos Damaskenos, *Paradoxon Ethnikon Synagoge*, Fragm. 143.

in his "Morals" the assertion that "among the Hindus the faithful wives are so ardently devoted to their husbands that they enter into strife and rivalry with each other as to which of them shall enjoy the privilege of the pyre; and the one that is successful in the contest is burnt with her dead husband, while the others extol her good fortune."[1] Ælian, also writing in Greek a century later, repeats the same statement in substance, to the effect that "Hindu wives enter into the same funeral pyre as their dead husbands, and they engage in rivalry with each other for the privilege; and whichever of them obtains the lot is burnt with him."[2]

The Roman statesman, orator, and philosopher, Cicero, among the Latin writers of the first century B.C., breaks forth in his "Tusculan Disputations" with an impassioned utterance against this barbarous Hindu usage, that "when the husband dies, the wives dispute as to which of them loved him most (for polygamy is customary among them), and she that gains the day is escorted in triumph by her household and is placed by the side of her husband on the pyre, while the unsuccessful wife withdraws in dejection."[3] The Latin poet Propertius, a late contemporary of Cicero, regards with poetic sentiment this custom among the Hindus and felicitates the East upon its having wives that contend with each other to die in the flames with their beloved, and "feel it a shame not to be permitted to die, while those who are successful, offer their bosoms

[1] Plutarch, *Moralia*, p. 499c.

[2] Ælian, *Varia Historia*, 8. 18.

[3] Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 5. 27, 78.

to the fire and press their burning lips upon those of their lords."[1] Valerius Maximus, who flourished in Italy during the first Christian century, had to recognize, like Cicero, the undaunted courage of the Indian women, "who, although several are married to one

WOMEN AT THE VILLAGE POND.

man according to the custom of their country, nevertheless engage in a struggle and contest, when their husband dies, as to which of them he loved the most. The victress, jubilant with exultation and escorted by her relatives, who wear a glad countenance, throws herself into the flames of her husband's pyre and, as if exceedingly happy, is burned along with him; while those who are defeated remain in life with sadness and grief."[2]

[1] Propertius, 4. 12. 15-22.

[2] Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri*, 2. 6. 14.

The fullest classical account of the Indian suttee, however, is that by the Greek writer Diodoros Sikelos, in the first century B.C., who refers (as did Strabo, already cited) to the custom of widow-burning among the Kathaioi and gives an elaborate description of such a voluntary sacrifice by the wives of a Hindu general that was slain in battle. "Among the Kathaioi," he says, "it is customary for the wives to be burned with their husbands—a sanctioned custom which became established among the barbarians on account of one woman's having made away with her husband by poison."[1] Diodoros's elaborate and graphic description of the suttee that followed upon the death of Keteus, the Indian leader who fell in battle, runs as follows:

'There occurred at this time a strange circumstance which differs wholly from the customs of the Greeks. Keteus, the general of the Indian contingent, had been slain in battle after a noble fight. He left behind him two wives who had accompanied him throughout the campaign. One he had but lately married; the other had been wedded to him some years previously; and both loved him devotedly.

Now, owing to an old custom among the Hindus, for young men and maidens to marry, not according to their parents' advice, but after their own mutual inclination, the young people in former times married rashly. As a result their choice was often a failure, followed by speedy repentance on both sides; and many wives, yielding to their passions, became corrupted and

[1] Diodoros Sikelos, *Historia*, 17. 91.

fell in love with other men. But not being able honourably to leave those of their original choice, they made away with their husbands by poison. The means to do this were more readily found, owing to the many and various poisonous elements produced in the country, some of which caused death if merely rubbed on the food or mixed with the drink. Owing to the prevalence of this villainy, and because of many such murders, and inasmuch as punishing those whose guilt was proved had failed to deter others from the crime, a law was made to the effect that widows, unless they were pregnant or had children, should be burnt with their dead husbands; and that whosoever should refuse to obey this law, should remain a widow always and should be debarred for ever from sacrificial rites and other privileges because of her impiety. With the establishment of this law the wickedness of the wives was turned into quite the reverse; for, on account of the enormity of the disgrace, every woman chose rather to die with her husband, and as a consequence they not only looked after the well-being of their husbands, as a matter of common concern, but even rivalled one another as if to attain the greatest glory.

Such was the case on this occasion; for although according to law only one wife was to be burnt, both entered into a contest at the death of Keteus as to which should gain the privilege of dying with their husband. When the generals undertook to decide the matter, the younger wife said that the other was with child and could not therefore take advantage of the

law. The latter, on the other hand, insisted that it was more proper for herself to have the first place in honour, as being the elder, because among all peoples the senior always takes precedence over the junior in the matter of honour and of respect. Upon learning from those who were skilled in midwifery that the elder

AN INDIAN WOMAN WITH HER JEWELS.

actually was with child, the generals decided in favour of the younger. Whereupon, she who had lost the privilege went away weeping, rending her veil, and tearing her hair, as though she had been told of some terrible misfortune. The other, on the contrary, overjoyed at the victory she had won, went forth to the funeral pyre, receiving from the women of her household a head-dress (literally, " mitres ") as a crown, and splendidly decked, as though for a wedding, while she was escorted also by her kinsmen, who sang hymns in honour of her heroism.

As soon as she came to the pyre, she took off her ornaments and distributed them among her household and friends, leaving a memento, so to say, to those who loved her. The ornaments were these: she had on her fingers a quantity of rings, set with precious stones of different colours; on her head she wore a number of golden stars set off by all kinds of jewels; and around her neck there were several necklaces, smaller or larger according as they hung higher or lower upon her breast.

At last, when she had taken leave of her household, she was placed upon the pile by her brother, and then, amid the wonderment of the crowds that had assembled to witness the sight, she brought her life to its heroic end. The soldiers, all in full armour, marched three times around the pile before it was kindled; while she lay down by her husband's side. Not a word did she utter, not a sign of fear did she betray as the flames came on. Some of those who witnessed the spectacle were moved with pity; others were stirred to extravagant praise. Of the Greeks, however, some condemned the custom as savage and barbarous.'

A notice of the custom of Indian widow-burning may be cited also from the well-known Arabian traveller Ibn Batuta, whose distant journeys led him to Hindustan in 1325 A.D. In describing his various experiences and the sights which he saw, Ibn Batuta says (as translated by Lee):—"I also saw those women who burn themselves when their husbands die. The woman adorns herself and is accompanied by a cavalcade of

the infidel Hindus and Brahmans, with drums, trumpets, and men, following her, both Moslems and Infidels, for mere pastime. The fire had been already kindled, and into it they cast the dead husband. The wife

HINDU WOMEN.

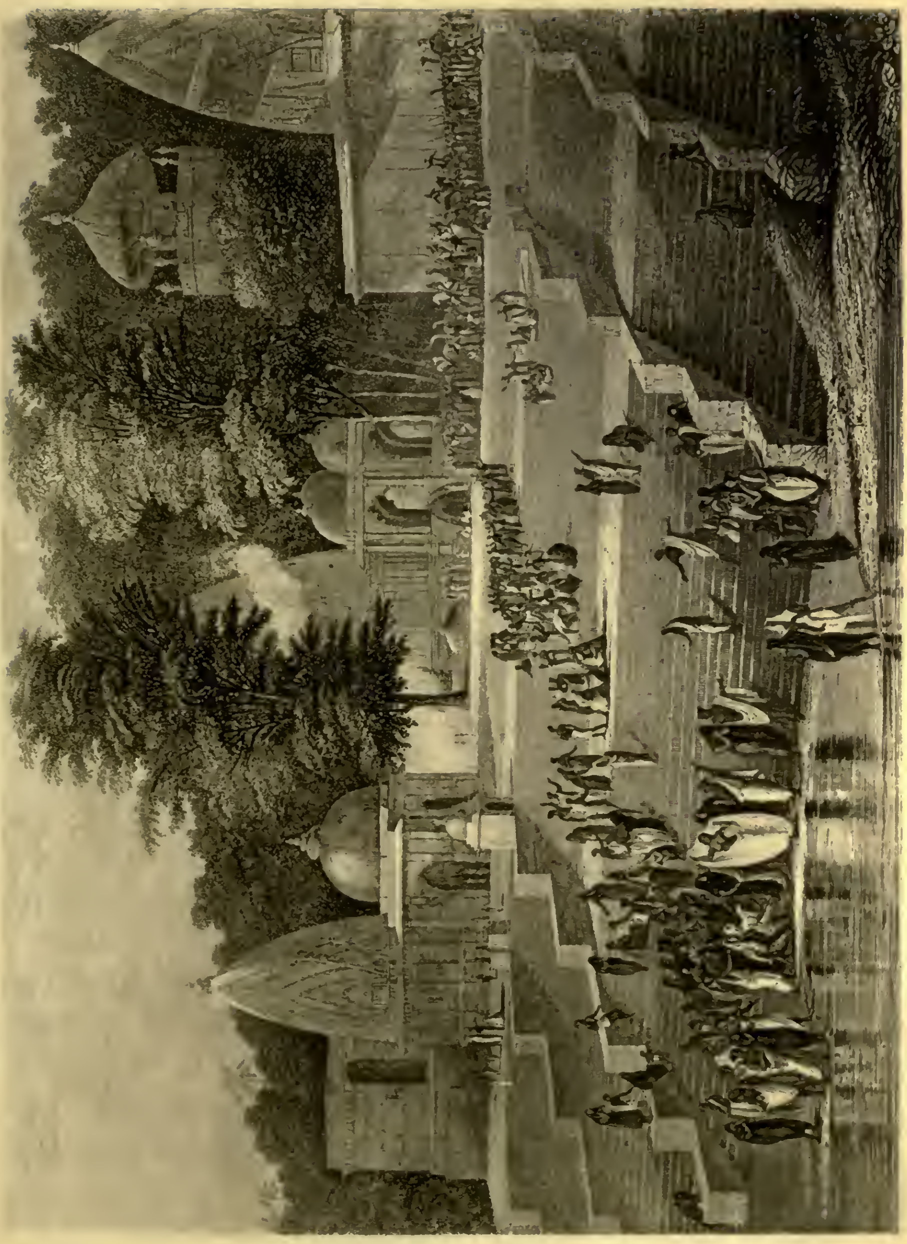
then threw herself upon him, and both were entirely burnt. A woman's burning herself with her husband, however, is not considered as absolutely necessary among them, but it is encouraged; and when a woman burns herself with her husband, her family is considered as being ennobled, and is supposed to be worthy of

trust. But when she does not burn herself, she is ever after clothed coarsely, and remains among her relations on account of her want of fidelity to her husband. The woman who burns herself with her husband is generally surrounded by women, who bid her farewell and commission her with salutations for their former friends, while she laughs, plays, or dances to the very time in which she is to be burnt."

The Persian treatise Dabistan or "School of Manners," whose author lived in the first half of the seventeenth century and knew India, among other countries in which he travelled, writes in harmony with the preceding statements regarding the Hindu widow, and a passage from his work, as translated by Shea and Troyer, deserves citation: "If, on her husband's death, she become not a Suttee, that is burn herself with the deceased, she is then to reside with his relations, devoting herself to rigid abstinence and the worship of the Almighty. They say that when a woman becomes a Suttee, the Almighty pardons all the sins committed by the wife and husband, and that they remain a long time in paradise: nay, if the husband were in the infernal regions, the wife by this means draws him from thence and takes him to paradise, just as the serpent-catcher charms the serpent out of his hole. Moreover the Suttee, in a future birth, returns not to the female sex; but should she reassume the human nature, she appears as a man; but she who becomes not a Suttee, and passes her life in widowhood, is never emancipated from the female state. It is therefore

Suttee, or Widow-burning, in Ancient Times

The accompanying illustration from an old engraving conveys some idea of the sad scenes that used to be enacted only too often on the banks of the Ganges and throughout all India, from the earliest ages down to the time when the cruel practice of suttee was abolished in the first half of the nineteenth century.



the duty of every woman, excepting one that is pregnant, to enter into the blazing fire. A Brahman's wife in particular is to devote herself in the same fire with her husband; but others are allowed to perform the rite in a separate place. It is, however, criminal to force the woman into the fire, and equally so to prevent her who voluntarily devotes herself."

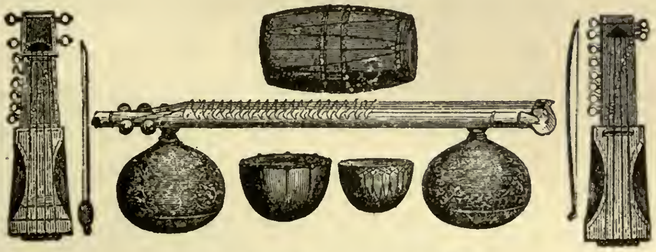
In addition to the passages that have already been given, there are references to "suttee" in Sanskrit literature from the early centuries of the Christian era to the time of the Mohammedan conquest, but their number precludes citing them here. It is sufficient to present three European accounts of this Indian practice, and I shall first quote from the well-known Italian traveller Pietro della Valle, who visited India in the first quarter of the seventeenth century and records an instance of widow-burning at Ikkeri, now called Ikheri, in the Mysore district of Southern India, where the practice was less common than in other parts of India. His journal, which is accessible in the Hakluyt Society's publications, contains the following memoranda among the entries for November 12, 1623.

'As we returned home at night we met a Woman in the City of Ikkeri, who, her husband being dead, was resolv'd to burn herself, as 'tis the custom with many Indian Women. She rode on Horse-back about the City with face uncovered, holding a Looking-glass in one hand and a Lemon in the other, I know not for what purpose; and beholding herself in the Glass, with a lamentable tone sufficiently pittiful to hear, went

along I know not whither, speaking, or singing, certain words, which I understood not; but they told me they were a kind of Farewell to the World and herself; and indeed, being uttered with that passionateness which the Case requir'd and might produce, they mov'd pity in all that heard them, even in us who understood not the Language. She was followed by many other Women and Men on foot, who, perhaps, were her Relations; they carry'd a great Umbrella over her, as all Persons of quality are wont to have, thereby to keep off the Sun, whose heat is hurtful and troublesome. Before her certain Drums were sounded, whose noise she never ceas'd to accompany with her sad Ditties, or Songs; yet with a calm and constant Countenance, without tears, evidencing more grief for her Husband's death than her own, and more desire to go to him in the other world than regret for her own departure out of this: a Custom, indeed, cruel and barbarous, but, withall, of great generosity in such Women and therefore worthy of no small praise. They said she was to pass in this manner about the City, I know not how many dayes, at the end of which she was to go out of the City and be burnt, with more company and solemnity. If I can know when it will be I will not fail to go to see her and by my presence honour her Funeral with that compassionate affection which so great Conjugal Fidelity and Love seem to me to deserve.'

Four days later Pietro della Valle adds to his notes the following touching description of his interview with the woman.

'November the sixteenth. I was told that the afore-mention'd Woman, who had resolv'd to burn her self for her Husband's death, was to dye this Evening. But upon further enquiry at the Woman's House I understood that it would not be till after a few dayes more, and there I saw her sitting in a Court, or Yard, and other persons beating Drums about her. She was cloth'd all in White and deck'd with many Neck-laces, Bracelets and other ornaments of Gold; on her Head



INDIAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.
After originals in the Museum of the East India House.

she had a Garland of Flowers, spreading forth like the rayes of the Sun; in brief she was wholly in a Nuptial Dress and held a Lemon in her Hand, which is the usual Ceremony. She seem'd to be pleasant enough, talking and laughing in conversation, as a Bride would do in our Countries. She and those with her took notice of my standing there to behold her, and, conjecturing by my foreign Habit who I was, some of them came toward me. I told them by an Interpreter that I was a Person of a very remote Country, where we had heard by Fame that some Women in India love their Husbands so vehemently as when they dye to resolve to dye with them; and that how, having intel-

ligence that this Woman was such a one, I was come to see her, that so I might relate in my own Country that I had seen such a thing with my own Eyes. These people were well pleas'd with my coming, and she herself, having heard what I said, rose up from her seat and came to speak to me.

We discours'd together, standing, for a good while. She told me that her name was Giaccama, of the Race of Terlenga, that her Husband was a Drummer; whence I wonder'd the more; seeing that Heroical Actions, as this undoubtedly ought to be judg'd, are very rare in people of low quality. That it was about nineteen dayes since her Husband's death, that he had left two other Wives elder than she, whom he had married before her (both which were present at this discourse), yet neither of them was willing to dye, but alledg'd for excuse that they had many Children. This argument gave me occasion to ask Giaccama (who shew'd me a little Son of her own, about six or seven years, besides a little Daughter she had) how she could perswade her self to leave her own little Children; and I told her, that she ought likewise to live rather than to abandon them at that age. She answer'd me that she left them well recommended to the care of an Uncle of hers there present, who also talk'd with us very cheerfully, as if rejoycing that his Kins-woman should do such an action; and that her Husband's other two remaining Wives would also take care of them. I insisted much upon the tender age of her Children, to avert her from her purpose by moving her to compassion for them,

well knowing that no argument is more prevalent with Mothers than their Love and Affection toward their Children. But all my speaking was in vain, and she still answer'd me to all my Reasons, with a Countenance not onely undismay'd and constant, but even

CHILDREN NEAR A RUINED SHRINE IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

cheerful, and spoke in such a manner as shew'd that she had not the least fear of death.

She told me also, upon my asking her, that she did this of her own accord, was at her own liberty and not forc'd nor perswaded by any one. Whereupon, I inquiring whether force were at any time us'd in this matter, they told me that ordinarily it was not, but onely sometimes amongst Persons of quality, when some

Widow was left young, handsome, and so in danger of marrying again (which amongst them is very ignominious) or committing a worse fault; in such Cases the Friends of the deceas'd Husband were very strict, and would constrain her to burn her self even against her own will, for preventing the disorders possible to happen in case she should live (a barbarous, indeed, and too cruel Law); but that neither force nor persuasion was used to Giaccama, and that she did it of her own free will; in which, as a magnanimous action (as indeed it was), and amongst them of great honour, both her Relations and herself much glory'd. I ask'd concerning the Ornaments and Flowers she wore, and they told me that such was the Custom, in token of the Masti's joy (they call the Woman, who intends to burn her self for the death of her Husband, Masti) in that she was very shortly to go to him and therefore had reason to rejoyce; whereas such Widows as will not dye remain in continual sadness and lamentations, shave their Heads and live in perpetual mourning for the death of their Husbands.

At last Giaccama caus'd one to tell me that she accounted my coming to see her a great fortune, and held her self much honour'd, as well by my visit and presence as by the Fame which I should carry of her to my own Country; and that before she dy'd she would come to visit me at my House, and also to ask me, as their custom is, that I would favour her with some thing by way of Alms toward the buying of fewel for the fire wherewith she was to be burnt. I answer'd

her that I should esteem her visit and very willingly give her something; not for wood and fire wherein to burn her self (for her death much displeas'd me, and I would gladly have disswaded her from it, if I could), but to do something else therewith that her self most lik'd; and I promis'd her that, so far as my weak pen could contribute, her Name should remain immortal in the World. Thus I took leave of her, more sad for her death than she was, cursing the custom of India which is so unmerciful to Women.

AN INDIAN WOMAN WITH A CHARACTERISTIC NECKLACE.

Giaccama was a Woman about thirty years of age, of a Complexion very brown for an Indian and almost black, but of a good aspect, tall of stature, well shap'd and proportion'd. My Muse could not forbear from chanting her in a Sonnet which I made upon her death, and reserve among my Poetical Papers.'[1]

A brief but vivid description of the cruel rite not

[1] This sonnet has apparently been lost.

only of burning the wife by the side of her dead husband, but sometimes of burying her alive in the same grave with his body, is given by the Dutch missionary Abraham Roger, whose account of India in the first half of the seventeenth century forms a later chapter in this book. The section relating to suttee is inserted here instead of being reserved for its place in that chapter.

'So soon as the husband dyeth, if the wife promiseth of her own accord that she will follow him in death, then the preparations necessary for this business are hastened, for then is there no longer a loophole open for the wife, and then may she have no hope more, nor may the affair suffer any delay, since the wife must be burnt on the same day on which her husband is burnt, when the fire is almost become coals. This is observed very strictly by the Bramines (Brahmans) and Weinsjaes (Vaisyas); but the Settreaes (Kshatriyas) and Soudraes (Sudras) have a custom that, even though the husband hath died elsewhere and hath been burnt long before, the wife must also be burnt if only they receive a token of the husband's death and are certified thereof. Accordingly, the husband is brought without delay to a pit which is digged without the city and is burnt therein; the wife, well adorned after their fashion, is set upon a seat under a canopy outside the door; bassoons are blown; drums are beaten; she is entertained continually by being given betel to eat; and meanwhile she uttereth the name of God continually. The last woman whom I attended

continually said "Naraina" (Narayana), the which she repeated so quickly and rapidly that it was a marvel. The Settrea and the Soudra sometimes hold it for their custom to give the women somewhat with their betel whereby they be half-robbed of their senses, so that they may not become afflicted in spirit at their approaching pain and anguish, and seek to recall their word. But the Bramin Padmanaba said that the Bramines do not so to their women, since they may not bring the women to die as with force, against their will.

When the wife goeth forth of her house, she biddeth her friends farewell; and if she be of the Settrea or Soudra caste, she hath a lemon in one hand and a mirror in the other; and continually she uttereth the name of God. Some repeat Naraina (Narayana) and some Ramma (Rama), or any other name wherewith, in their language, they name the god they serve. But if the wife be of the caste of the Bramines or of the Weinsjaes, she holdeth not the aforesaid things in her hand, but sometimes flowers, red in colour, such as are common in their temples, to strew on and before her idol; although the flowers may be those which have already been offered to the idol. Around her neck they hang the figure of her idol, and thus the wife fareth forth of the city to where her husband is burnt, going either on foot, or, if she be the wife of a Bramin, in a palanquin. She is accompanied by her friends, who encourage her with their words, if she be of the Settrea or Soudra caste; and thus, at length, she neareth the place where her husband is burnt. But

before she goeth to leap in the fire, she fareth to a tank, or pool of water, which is nigh there, to wash her body. The which being done, they take from her the jewels wherewith she was adorned, and at that place

THE RAMA GHAT AT AYODHA.

a prayer is offered by a Bramin, and alms are given to the Bramines. This being done, and having been clad, in the pool, with a shroud of yellow colour, she cometh forth from the water and goeth joyfully toward the place where she shall spring into the fire. Before her she findeth a deep pit with glowing coals, but that

she should not be affrighted therefrom by the horrible sight, mats are placed in front so that she may not see into the pit. Each of the bystanders hath wood in his hand to cast upon the woman's body, so soon as she hath sprung into the fire, that she may be burnt to powder.

When the wife draweth nigh the pit, she findeth a high place at the end of the pit, which is made of the earth which is thrown out of the pit; and then she goeth until she cometh to the mat that preventeth her from seeing into the awful pit. There she biddeth farewell to the friends who are with her, the which encourage her good spirit; over the mat, into the fire, she throweth a *pilang*, that is, a rice-stamper, and a *sioup*, or little fan wherewith the rice is fanned when it is stamped, and also other things that women commonly use there in their houses; on her head she hath a pot of oil, a part whereof she herself poureth over her head; and meanwhile she uttereth the name of God continually. And then the mat, which standeth before her, is taken away, and she falleth down from above with the pot of oil into the fire, and straightway she is covered, well-nigh to the height of a man, with the wood which the bystanders had in their hands. And thus is this sad spectacle brought to an end whensoever the women are of the Settreas, Weinsjaes, and Soudraes.

But when the wives be of a Bramin, then is this horrible matter carried out with still greater cruelty; for the wives of the Bramines do not spring into the

fire like the others; but they lay themselves by their dead husband on a pile of wood, even as they would go to rest beside him; and when they have lain down by him, then is a great mass of wood piled upon their body. This being done, they kindle the wood at the head, where some oil is poured that the wood may catch fire the better. Oh, inhuman cruelty! Who is not horrified at such horrible things, which, nevertheless, be true and customary in these places? So soon as the wife is laid in the pit and covered with wood, wailing and lamentation ariseth from certain women, the which stand as in a ring and cry and beat upon their breasts like desperate creatures; but what they mean hereby I cannot say, for I myself have never investigated it.

It seemeth, in sooth, a wondrous thing that the women can let themselves be persuaded to such extreme pain, and to plight their word thereto; but it cometh to pass through the leasing tongues of the Bramines, who not only set before them the examples of them that have done this, but also say that they can do much good thereby to their husbands whom they held dear; since if, for love and single affection, they let themselves be burnt with their dead husbands, not only shall this tend marvellously to their weal in the world to come, but they shall also release their husbands, even were they godless, from the pain of hell. They also persuade the women that if they do this for single love, they will not feel the pain of the fire so much; and who can bear them other testimony herein, since they have spoken to none who have told them how they fared

there? And this also aideth much herein that the wives, if they survive and are not burnt, are a shame and scandal in the sight of the world. Their hair is shorn off, they may eat no betel, they may wear no jewelry, nor may they marry again. In short, every vexation and indignity that could be imagined is put upon them, so that the wives, who have but scant spirit and courage, would not refuse such a thing; since, more than this, they are bereft of all honour and reverence, and the possession of their goods is taken from them. For when the husband dyeth, then the widow abideth not in possession of the means which the husband hath left; but the sons, and especially the eldest, enter into their father's place. Here, then, the mother may be subordinate and may provide for the training of the children. Nevertheless, if no sons, but only daughters, survive, then cometh the brother of the deceased and entereth into the full possession of all; and he oweth the widow and daughters no more than their maintenance. So that these women lose much in their husbands, and have naught else to expect save indignity and distress. It may readily be presumed that ofttimes they are reproached their whole lives long by the dullards who have come into their

A BETEL-BOX.

possessions, and who must give them maintenance, for that they were so frail in their love for their husband that they would not die with him.

Since the husbands, when death is nigh, urge their wives to die with them, either by being burnt or buried alive, and since we have seen in what fashion the burning taketh place, some may readily be eager to know how matters go when a wife is buried alive with her dead husband. To satisfy the curious herein, I shall also relate the fashion which the heathen have in the burying of these wives; the which I have not from hearsay, like the foregoing, but I myself have seen it there.

The preparations for the burning and the burying of the wives are one and the same, the difference is only in the burying itself. When the wife hath bathed in the pool, in manner as the wives who be burnt, then fareth she with pipes, drums, bassoons, and such like tokens of joy, to the melancholy pit which is digged for her, where she findeth her dead husband. This pit is digged and made in fashion as a cellar; it hath an arch of earth, and is also entered by stairs. The wife who is to be buried goeth along the stairs aforesaid into the pit, and findeth there, under the arch, a bench, also of earth, whereon she sitteth and taketh, after that she hath sat down, her dead husband in her arms; and then taketh she a pot with fire, wherein she casteth some incense and burneth incense over her dead husband therewith.

This being done, they begin softly to fill the pit,

without throwing in the earth unmannerly and without harming the woman. The wife, like as I have seen, herself scrapeth the earth about her body. When, now, the earth beginneth to come about her neck, then two of them that fill the pit with earth take a cloth, the which they hold before the mouth of the pit, that what they do may not be clearly seen of any, and that the women may not take affright. When, now, they hold the cloth before the pit, they give the wife somewhat in a shell; the which when I asked of the heathen that stood by what it was, they said that it was poison. The which I also saw to be true, for in the woman's face straightway a great change might be perceived. The poison being given her, then break they the woman's neck. But all this is done so dextrously behind a cloth that no one can see it, even though he press right close to the pit. I ween that they do this concerning the woman to make short her pain and anguish. And in this fashion goeth it in the burial of wives.'

Still more detailed and impressive is the account of the sacrifice of widows given by Abbé Dubois, a French missionary of Madras in Southern India between the years 1792 and 1823, who describes a suttee from actual experience and repeats the accounts of eye-witnesses who were present when two queens perished in the flames of the funeral pyre of the King of Tanjore. The abbé's graphic description of the scene of these gem-decked victims going or being led to self-immolation upon the fiery altar of ancient custom is interest-

ing to compare with the accounts, given above, by the Greek writers of nearly two thousand years before. It reads as follows:—

'Although the ancient and barbarous custom which imposes on widows the duty of sacrificing themselves voluntarily on the funeral pyre of their husbands has not been expressly abolished, it is much more rare nowadays than formerly, especially in the southern parts of the Peninsula. In the north of India and in the provinces bordering on the Ganges, however, women are only too frequently seen offering themselves as victims of this terrible superstition, and, either through motives of vanity or through a spirit of blind enthusiasm, giving themselves up to a death which is as cruel as it is foolish.

A GROUP OF CHILD WIDOWS.

The Mohammedan rulers never tolerated this horrible practice in the provinces subject to them; but, notwithstanding their prohibition, wretched fanatics have more than once succeeded in bribing the subordinate representatives of authority to give permission

to commit the deed in violation of the laws of humanity and common sense.

The great European power which nowadays exercises its sway all over the country has tried, by all possible means of persuasion, to put an end altogether to this barbarous custom; but its efforts have been only partially successful, and, generally speaking, it has been obliged to shut its eyes to this dreadful practice, since any attempt to remedy it by force would have exposed it to dangerous opposition.

Nobody is a greater admirer than myself of the wise spirit that animates this enlightened and liberal government in manifesting to its Hindu subjects such a full and perfect tolerance in the practice of their civil and religious usages; and nobody is more fully alive than I am to the dangers and difficulties that an open defiance of these prejudices, which are looked upon as sacred and inviolable, would give rise to. But does the abominable custom in question form part of Hindu institutions? Are there any rules which prescribe its observance by certain castes? All the information which I have been able to gather on the subject tends to make me believe that there are no such rules. The infamous practice, although encouraged by the impostors who regulate religious worship, is nowhere prescribed in an imperative manner in the Hindu books. It is left entirely to the free will and pleasure of the victims who thus sacrifice themselves. No blame and no discredit are attached nowadays to the wife whose own honest judgment suggests that she ought not to

be in such a hurry to rejoin in the other world the husband who so often made her wretched in this. It would be quite possible, therefore, by the display of firmness, combined with prudence, to strike, without any considerable danger, at the very root of this shocking practice. Certainly it reflects discredit on the government which tolerates it and manifests no great indignation with regard to it.

It was principally in the noble caste of rajas that suttee originated. It was looked upon as a highly honourable proof of wifely attachment and love, which enhanced the glory of the families of these wretched victims of blind zeal. Should a widow, by reason of a natural fondness for life or through lack of courage, endeavour to avoid the honour of being burnt alive on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband, she was considered to be offering a gross insult to his memory.

I was once able thoroughly to convince myself of the influence which this false point of honour still exercises over the minds of fanatical Hindus, and at the same time to discern that this act of devotion to which these wretched victims sacrificed themselves is not always the result of their own free will and resolution. The Poligar, or Prince, of Kangundi in the Karnatic having died, neither entreaties nor threats were spared to induce his widow to allow herself to be burned alive with him. It was urged that this honourable custom had been observed for a long time past in the family, and that it would be a great pity, indeed, to allow it to fall into disuse. The funeral ceremonies were delayed from

day to day in the hope that the widow would at last make up her mind to prefer a glorious death to a remnant of life spent in contempt and opprobrium. It was a fruitless attempt! The obstinate princess turned a deaf ear to all the pressing entreaties of her relatives; and ultimately the deceased was obliged to depart alone to the other world.

A PILLAR OF THE GUPTA AGE.

It must, however, be confessed that some widows commit this folly readily enough, spurred on as they are by the thought of the wretchedness of widowhood, by vanity, and by the hope of acquiring notoriety—perhaps also by a genuine feeling of enthusiasm. It should be remembered that they are awarded boundless honours, and are even deified after death. Vows are made and prayers addressed to them, and their intercession is sought in times of sickness and adversity. Such remnants of their bodies as have not been entirely consumed by the fire are most devoutly gathered together, and on the spot where they have sacrificed themselves small monumental pyramids are erected to transmit to posterity the memory of these brave victims of conjugal affection—a tribute all the more conspicuous, because the erection of tombs is almost unknown among the Hindus. In a word, women who have had the courage to deliver themselves so

heroically to the flames are numbered among the divinities, and crowds of devotees may be seen coming in from all sides to offer them sacrifices and to invoke their protection.

To these inducements of vain and empty glory—sufficient of themselves to make a deep impression on a feeble mind—must be added the entreaties of relatives, who, if they perceive the slightest inclination on the part of the widow to offer up her life, spare no means in order to convince her and force her to a final determination. At times they go so far as to administer drugs, which so far deprive her of her senses that under their influence she yields to their wishes. This inhuman and abominable method of wheedling a consent out of the unhappy woman is in their opinion justified, because her tragic end would bring great honour and glory to the whole of their family.

Some authors have maintained that this detestable practice originated primarily either from the jealousy of husbands, or rather, perhaps, from their fear that their discontented wives might seek to get rid of them by poison. As for myself, I have been unable, either in the writings of Hindu authors, or in my free and familiar intercourse with many persons well versed in the manners and customs of the country, to discover any justification for either of these two theories. And surely the lot of a wife, even when she is doomed to suffer wrong at the hands of a cruel and immoral husband, is far preferable to that of a widow, to whom all hope of a remarriage under happier conditions is for-

bidden. It is hardly likely, indeed, that Hindu women would go to the length of committing a crime which must render their lot much worse than before! At the same time I am by no means inclined to attribute these voluntary sacrifices to an excess of conjugal affection. We should, for instance, be greatly mistaken were we to allow ourselves to be deceived by the noisy lamentations which wives are accustomed to raise on the death of their husbands, and which are no more than rank hypocrisy. During the long period of my stay in India, I do not recall two Hindu marriages characterized by a union of hearts and displaying true and mutual attachment.

A TYPE OF BRAHMAN WOMAN.

When a woman, after mature deliberation, has once declared that she desires to be burned alive with her deceased husband, her decision is considered irrevocable. She cannot afterwards retract; and should she refuse to proceed of her own free will to the funeral pyre, she would be dragged to it by force. The Brahmans who regulate all the proceedings of the tragedy,

and also her relatives, come by turns to congratulate her on her heroic decision and on the immortal glory which she is about to acquire by such a death—a death which will exalt her to the dignity of the gods. All possible means which fanaticism and superstition can suggest are brought to bear upon her in order to keep up her courage, to exalt her enthusiasm, and to excite her imagination. When, at last, the fatal hour draws nigh, the victim is adorned with rare elegance; she is clothed in her richest apparel, is bedecked with all her jewels, and is thus led to the funeral pyre.

It is impossible for me to describe the finishing scenes of this dreadful ceremony without feelings of distress. But, in the meantime, I must solicit the indulgence of my readers for a short digression which is not wholly disconnected with my subject. When a husband has several lawful wives, as often happens in the caste of the rajas, the wives sometimes dispute as to who shall have the honour of accompanying their common husband to the funeral pyre, and the Brahmans who preside at the ceremony determine which shall have the preference. Here is an instance to the point extracted from the Mahabharata [the great Sanskrit epic to which allusion has often been made, particularly in the first volume of this series]:—

King Pandu had retired into the jungles with his two wives, there to devote himself to acts of penance. At the same time a curse was imposed upon him, which doomed him to instant death should he dare to have intercourse with either of them. The passion which

he felt for the younger of his wives, who was extremely beautiful, overcame all fear of death; and, in spite of the fact that for several days she continued to represent to him the dire results that must necessarily follow his incontinency, he yielded at last to the violence of his love; and immediately the curse fell upon him. After his death, it was necessary to decide which of his two wives should follow him to the funeral pyre, and there arose a sharp altercation between them as to who should enjoy this honour.

The elder of the two spoke first, and addressing the assembly of Brahmans who had gathered together for the purpose, she urged that the fact of her being the first wife placed her above the second. She should, therefore, be given the preference. Besides, she urged, her companion had children who were still young, and who required their mother's personal care and attention for their bringing up.

The second wife admitted the seniority of the first; but she maintained that she alone, having been the immediate cause of the sad death of their common husband in allowing him to defy the curse which doomed him to perish, was thereby entitled to the honour of being burned with him. "As regards the bringing up my children," she added, addressing the other wife, "are they not yours just as much as they are mine? Do not they too call you mother? And by your age and experience are you not better fitted than I to attend to their bringing up?"

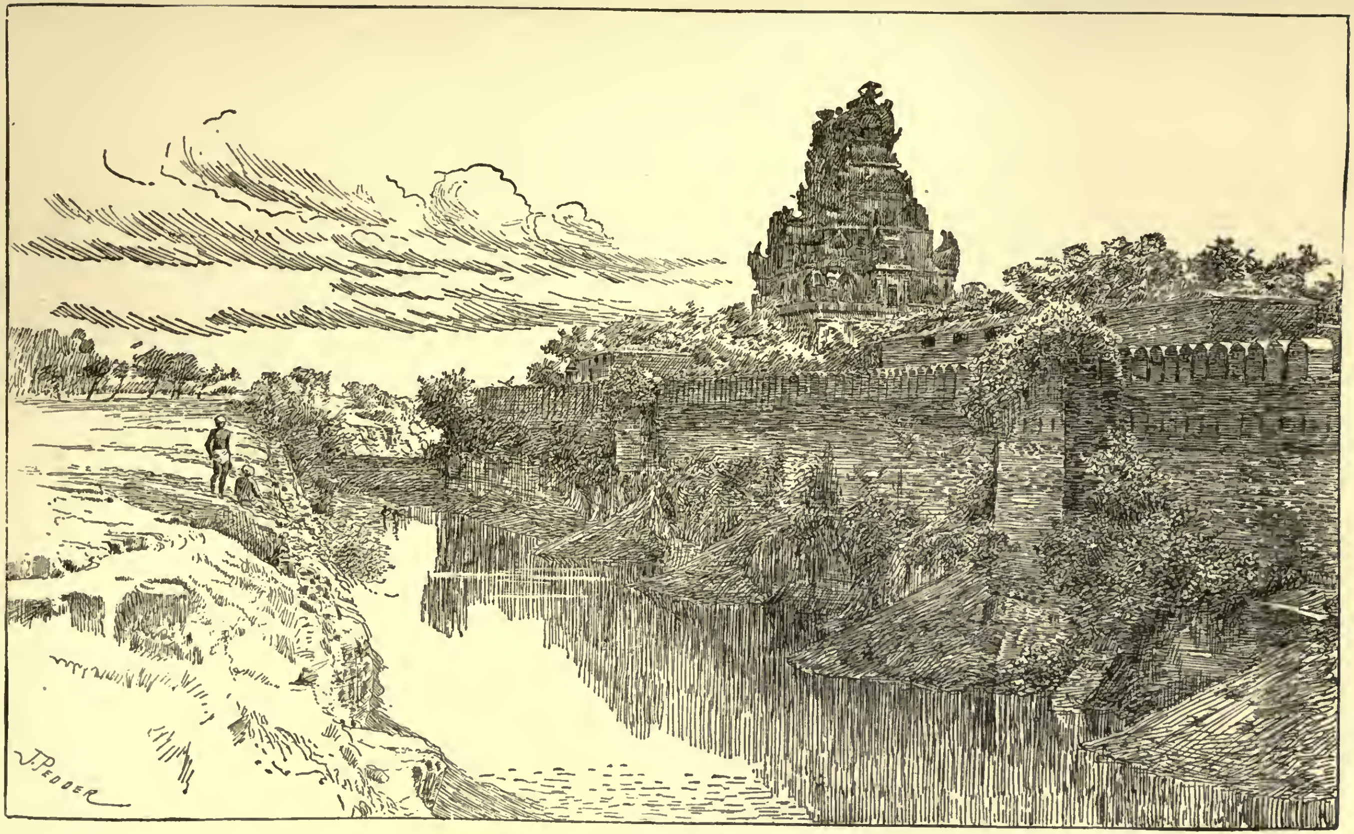
In spite of the eloquence of the younger wife, it was,

at last, unanimously agreed by the judges that the first wife should have the preference—a decision at which the latter lady was greatly delighted.

Most Sudras, as well as Hindus of the Saivite sect, bury their dead instead of burning them, and there are several instances of wives having been buried alive with their deceased husbands. But the ceremonies in either case are nearly the same.

I will relate here two incidents which took place at no great distance from the place where I was living, and which will give a good idea of what these deplorable scenes of mad fanaticism are like.

In 1794, in a village of the Tanjore district called Pudupettah, there died a man of some importance belonging to the Komatty (Vaisya) caste. His wife, aged about thirty years, announced her intention of accompanying her deceased husband to the funeral pyre. The news having rapidly spread abroad, a large concourse of people flocked together from all quarters to witness the spectacle. When everything was ready for the ceremony, and the widow had been richly clothed and adorned, the bearers stepped forward to remove the body of the deceased, which was placed in a sort of shrine, ornamented with costly stuffs, garlands of flowers, green foliage, etc., the corpse being seated in it with crossed legs, covered with jewels and clothed in the richest attire, and the mouth filled with betel. Immediately after the funeral car followed the widow, borne in a richly decorated palanquin. On the way to the burning-ground she was escorted by an immense



THE MOAT AND RAMPARTS AT TANJORE.

crowd of eager sightseers, lifting their hands toward her in token of admiration and rending the air with cries of joy. She was looked upon as already translated to the paradise of Indra, and they seemed to envy her happy lot.

While the funeral procession moved slowly along, the spectators, especially the women, tried to draw near to her to congratulate her on her good fortune, expecting at the same time that, in virtue of the gift of prescience which such a meritorious attachment must confer upon her, she would be pleased to predict the happy things that might befall them here below. With gracious and amiable mien she declared to one that she would long enjoy the favours of fortune; to another, that she would be the mother of numerous children who would prosper in the world; to a third, that she would live long and happily with a husband who would love and cherish her; to a fourth, that her family was destined to attain much honour and dignity, and the like. She then distributed among them leaves of betel; and the extraordinary eagerness with which these were received clearly proved that great value was attached to them as relics. Beaming with joy, these women then withdrew, each in the full hope that the promised blessings of wealth and happiness would be showered on her and hers.

During the whole procession, which was a very long one, the widow preserved a calm demeanour. Her looks were serene, even smiling; but when she reached the fatal place where she was to yield up her life in

so ghastly a manner, it was observed that her firmness suddenly gave way. Plunged, as it were, in gloomy thought, she seemed to pay no attention whatever to what was passing around her. Her looks became wildly fixed upon the pile. Her face grew deadly pale. Her very limbs were in a convulsive tremor. Her drawn features and haggard face betrayed the fright that had seized her, while a sudden weakening of her senses betokened that she was ready to faint away.

The Brahmans who conducted the ceremony, and also her near relatives, ran quickly to her, endeavouring to keep up her courage and to revive her drooping spirits. All was of no effect. The unfortunate woman, bewildered and distracted, turned a deaf ear to all their exhortations and preserved a deep silence.

She was then made to leave the palanquin, and as she was scarcely able to walk, her people helped her to drag herself to a pond near the pyre. She plunged into the water with all her clothes and ornaments on, and was immediately afterwards led to the pyre, on which the body of her husband was already laid. The pyre was surrounded by Brahmans, each with a lighted torch in one hand and a bowl of ghee in the other. Her relatives and friends, several of whom were armed with muskets, swords, and other weapons, stood closely round in a double line, and seemed to await impatiently the end of this shocking tragedy. This armed force, they told me, was intended not only to intimidate the unhappy victim in case the terror of her approaching death might induce her to run away, but also to over-

awe any persons who might be moved by a natural feeling of compassion and sympathy, and so tempted to prevent the accomplishment of the homicidal sacrifice.

At length, the principal Brahman gave the fatal signal. The poor widow was instantly divested of all her

AN OLD PICTURE OF A WIDOW PREPARING TO BE BURNED WITH HER HUSBAND.

jewels, and dragged, more dead than alive, to the pyre. There she was obliged, according to custom, to walk three times round the pile, two of her nearest relatives supporting her by the arms. She accomplished the first round with tottering steps; during the second her strength wholly forsook her, and she fainted away in

the arms of her conductors, who were obliged to complete the ceremony by dragging her through the third round. Then, at last, senseless and unconscious, she was cast upon the corpse of her husband. At that moment the air resounded with noisy acclamations. The Brahmans, emptying the contents of their vessels on the dry wood, applied their torches, and in the twinkling of an eye the whole pile was ablaze. Three times was the unfortunate woman called by her name. But, alas! she made no answer.

The last king of Tanjore, who died in 1801, left behind him four lawful wives. The Brahmans decided that two of these should be burnt with the body of their husband, and selected the couple that should have the preference. It would have been an everlasting shame to them and the grossest insult to the memory of the deceased had they hesitated to accept this singular honour. Being fully convinced, moreover, that no means would be spared to induce them to sacrifice themselves either willingly or unwillingly, they made a virtue of necessity and seemed perfectly ready to yield to the terrible lot which awaited them.

The necessary preparations for the obsequies were completed in a single day. Three or four leagues from the royal residence a square pit of no great depth, and about twelve to fifteen feet square, was excavated. Within it was erected a pyramid of sandalwood, resting on a kind of scaffolding of the same wood. The posts which supported it were so arranged that they could easily be removed, and would thereby cause the whole

A Scene at the Village Well.

structure to collapse suddenly. At the four corners of the pit were placed huge brass jars filled with ghee, to be thrown on the wood in order to hasten combustion.

The following was the order of the procession as it wended its way to the pyre. It was headed by a large force of armed soldiers. Then followed a crowd of musicians, chiefly trumpeters, who made the air ring with the dismal sound of their instruments. Next came the king's body borne in a splendid open palanquin, accompanied by his *guru*, his principal officers, and his nearest relatives, who were all on foot and wore no turbans in token of mourning. Among them was also a large number of Brahmans. Then came the two victims, each borne on a rich decorated palanquin. They were loaded, rather than decked, with jewels. Several ranks of soldiers surrounded them to preserve order and to keep back the great crowds that flocked in from every side. The two queens were accompanied by some of their favourite women, with whom they occasionally conversed. Then followed relatives of both sexes, to whom the victims had made valuable presents before leaving the palace. An innumerable multitude of Brahmans and persons of all castes followed in the rear.

On reaching the spot where their untimely fate awaited them, the victims were required to perform the ablutions and other ceremonies proper on such occasions; and they went through the whole of them without hesitation and without the least sign of fear. When, however, it came to walking round the pile, it was observed that their features underwent a sudden

change. Their strength seemed well-nigh to forsake them in spite of their obvious efforts to suppress their natural feelings. During this interval the body of the king had been placed on the top of the pyramid of sandalwood. The two queens, still wearing their rich attire and ornaments, were next compelled to ascend the pile. Lying down beside the body of the deceased prince, one on the right and the other on the left, they joined hands across the corpse. The officiating Brahmans then recited in a loud tone several *mantras*, sprinkled the pile with their *tīrtha*, or holy water, and emptied the jars of ghee over the wood, setting fire to it at the same moment. This was done on one side by the nearest relative of the king, on another by his *guru*, on others by leading Brahmans. The flames quickly spread, and the props being removed, the whole structure collapsed, and in its fall must have crushed to death the two unfortunate victims. Thereupon all the spectators shouted aloud for joy. The unhappy women's relatives standing around the pile then called to them several times by name, and it is said that, issuing from amidst the flames, the word *Yen?* (What?) was heard distinctly pronounced. A ridiculous illusion, no doubt, of minds blinded by fanaticism; for it could never be believed that the unfortunate victims were at that moment in a condition to hear and to speak.

Two days after, when the fire was completely extinguished, they removed from amidst the ashes the remnants of the bones that had been entirely consumed, and put them into copper urns, which were carefully

sealed with the signet of the new king. Some time afterwards, thirty Brahmans were selected to carry these relics to Kasi (Benares) and to throw them into the sacred waters of the Ganges. It was arranged that, on their return from that holy city, they should receive valuable presents upon producing authenti-

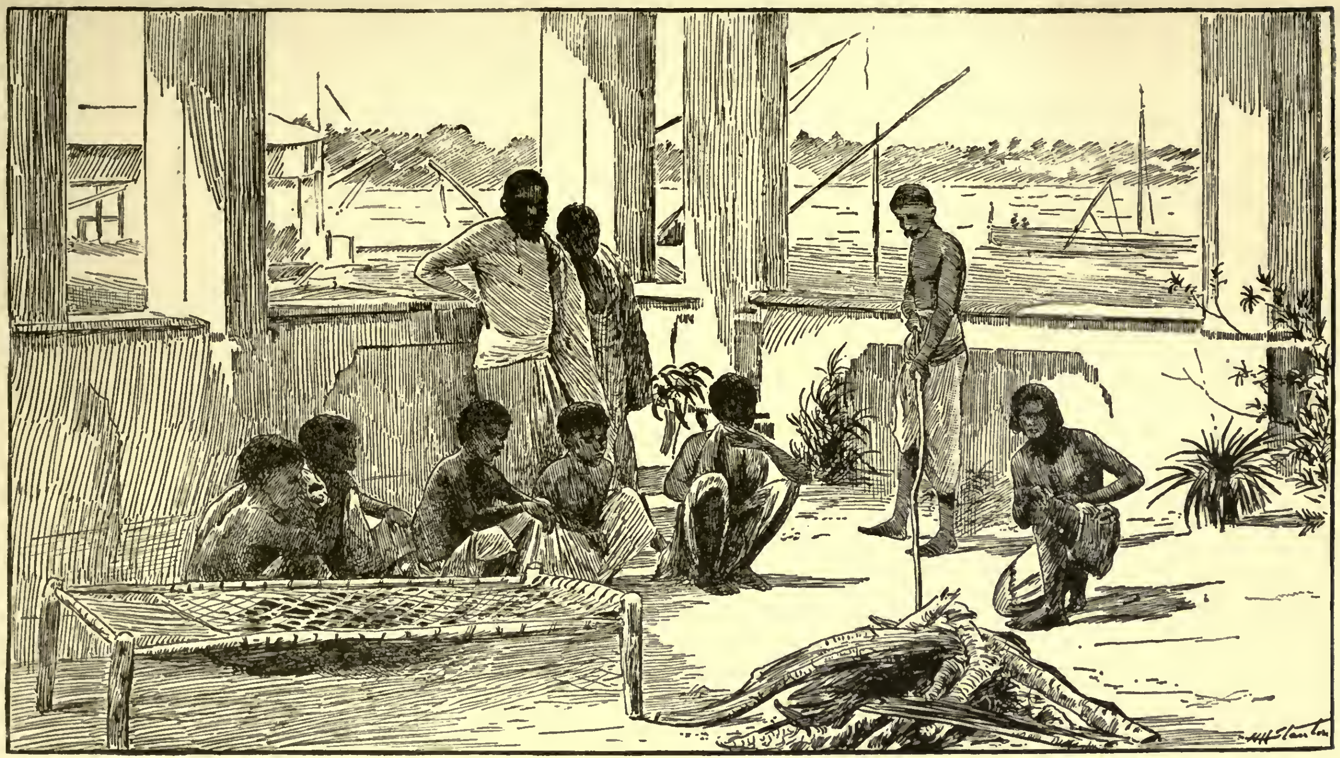
THE SACRED WATERS OF THE GANGES.

cated certificates to the effect that they had really accomplished the journey, and had faithfully executed the task entrusted to them. A portion of the bones was, however, reserved for the following purpose:—they were reduced to powder, mixed with some boiled rice, and eaten by twelve Brahmans. This revolting and unnatural act had for its object the expiation of the sins of the deceased—sins which, according to the popular opinion, were transmitted to the bodies of the

persons who ate the ashes, and were tempted by money to overcome their repugnance for such disgusting food. At the same time, it is believed that the filthy lucre thus earned can never be attended with much advantage to the recipients. Amidst the ashes, too, were picked up small pieces of melted gold, the remains of the ornaments worn by the princesses.

Presents were given to the Brahmans who presided at the obsequies, and to those who had honoured the ceremonies with their presence. To the king's *guru* was given an elephant. The three palanquins which had served to carry the corpse of the king and the two victims to the pile were given away to the three leading Brahmans. The presents distributed among the other Brahmans consisted of cloths and of money amounting to nearly twenty-five thousand rupees. Several bags of small coin were also scattered among the crowds on the roadside as the funeral procession was on its way to the pyre. Finally, twelve houses were built and presented to the twelve Brahmans who had the courage to swallow the powdered bones of the deceased, and by that means to take upon themselves all the sins of the dead.

A few days after the funeral the new king made a pilgrimage to a temple a few leagues distant from his capital. He there took a bath in a sacred tank, and was thus purified of all the uncleanness that he had contracted during the various ceremonies of mourning. On this occasion also presents were given to the Brahmans and to the poor of other castes.



A MODERN BURNING-GHAT AT CALCUTTA.

On the spot where the deceased king and his two unhappy companions had been consumed a circular mausoleum was erected, about twelve feet in diameter, surmounted by a dome. The reigning prince visits it from time to time, prostrates himself humbly before the tombs, and offers sacrifices to the spirit of his predecessor and to those of his worthy and saintly spouses.

Crowds of devotees also repair thither to offer up vows and sacrifices to the new divinities, and to implore their help and protection in the various troubles of life. In the year 1802 I heard accounts of a great number of so-called miracles performed through their intercession.

It is only after long and serious reflection on the many eccentricities and inconsistencies of the human mind that one can look without astonishment upon the deplorable scenes of which a few of the main features have just been described. It is indeed unaccountable how these Brahmans, who are so scrupulous and attach so much importance to the life of the most insignificant insect, and whose feelings are excited to pity and indignation at the very sight of a cow being slaughtered, can with such savage cold-bloodedness and wicked satisfaction look upon so many weak and innocent human beings, incited by hypocritical and barbarous inducements, being led with affected resignation to a punishment so cruel and undeserved. I leave to others the task of explaining these inconceivable contradictions, if, that is to say, it is possible to assign any reasons

for such superstitious fanaticism, whose characteristic feature is to suppress all natural and rational sentiment.'

Long after its abolition suttee continued to be practised here and there, especially among the Rajputs. The heroic spirit of these princely rulers had fostered for ages the sentiment of sacrifice, and instances of wholesale self-immolation by Rajput women have already been referred to in the preceding volumes (*e. g.* iv, 22). Trevor's "Rhymes of Rajputana," based upon the annals collected by Tod in that warlike district, gives well in ballad form an account of the suttee of Gorah's wife when her lord fell in battle. The brevity and swiftness with which the verses tell the tale admirably represent the Rajput courage when called upon to act. The ballad is given in full:

'Gorah and Badal, the Chauhans and kin
To fair Padmani, that fierce onslaught led.
Badal, a boy, was wounded; Gorah dead,
Covered with wounds and honour, was brought in
And laid upon the pyre while drums made din.

His wife, the spirit of the Rajput glowing
Within her breast that swelled with love and pride.
Questioned the boy of how her lord had died;
What glories crowned his coming and his going.

"Mother," the lad replied — "as reapers reap
The wheat, so he the harvest of the battle;
And I who followed 'mid the noise and rattle
Gleaned in the wake of his terrific sweep.
Before he laid him down to rest and sleep,

He spread a carpet of the slain upon
  The gory bed of honour, made a prince
  His pillow, rested joyfully, and since
Unto the mansions of the Sun has gone."

"I know," she cried — "what more? go on! go on!
Tell me again about my love, I pray."
  He said, "What further, mother, can I tell?
  He left no foe to dread or praise."

"Farewell,"
She smiled, "my lord will chide me for delay" —
Sprang on the pyre, and with him passed away.'

To show the sporadic, though persistent, survival of the suttee ideal among the folk in our own times, allusion may be made in conclusion to a recent occurrence in the district of Lahore, which the Bombay newspaper "Jam-e Jamshed," November, 1905, calls "The Most Recent Suttee," and of which it urges a strict investigation.

'It is to be hoped that careful investigations will be made in the case of suttee that has been reported from Lahore last week. The husband of the Kamboh woman is reported to have died two or three years back, and this ought to make the inquiry all the more essential as to whether the woman was led to perform this act of her own free will, or whether she was goaded on to it by others. It has been reported that the woman made the funeral pyre, set fire to it and perished in the flames in the presence of a large number of persons. Who were those persons? Were they all as superstitious as herself, and did none of them dare to save

her from this act of suicide or run up to fetch the assistance of the police? Or did some one try and was prevented from helping the poor woman? We are indeed told that all efforts to dissuade her proved unavailing, but was this dissuasion not very much like consent? Finally, the police did not arrive in time to save her life. Could it be that all the preparations were made single-handed by the woman, and yet the police had no inkling of it till the moment when it was too late?'

AN OLD BUDDHIST SCULPTURE FROM THE BHARAHAT STUPA.

CHAPTER III

A DESCRIPTION OF INDIA IN GENERAL BY THE CHINESE BUDDHIST PILGRIM HIUAN TSANG

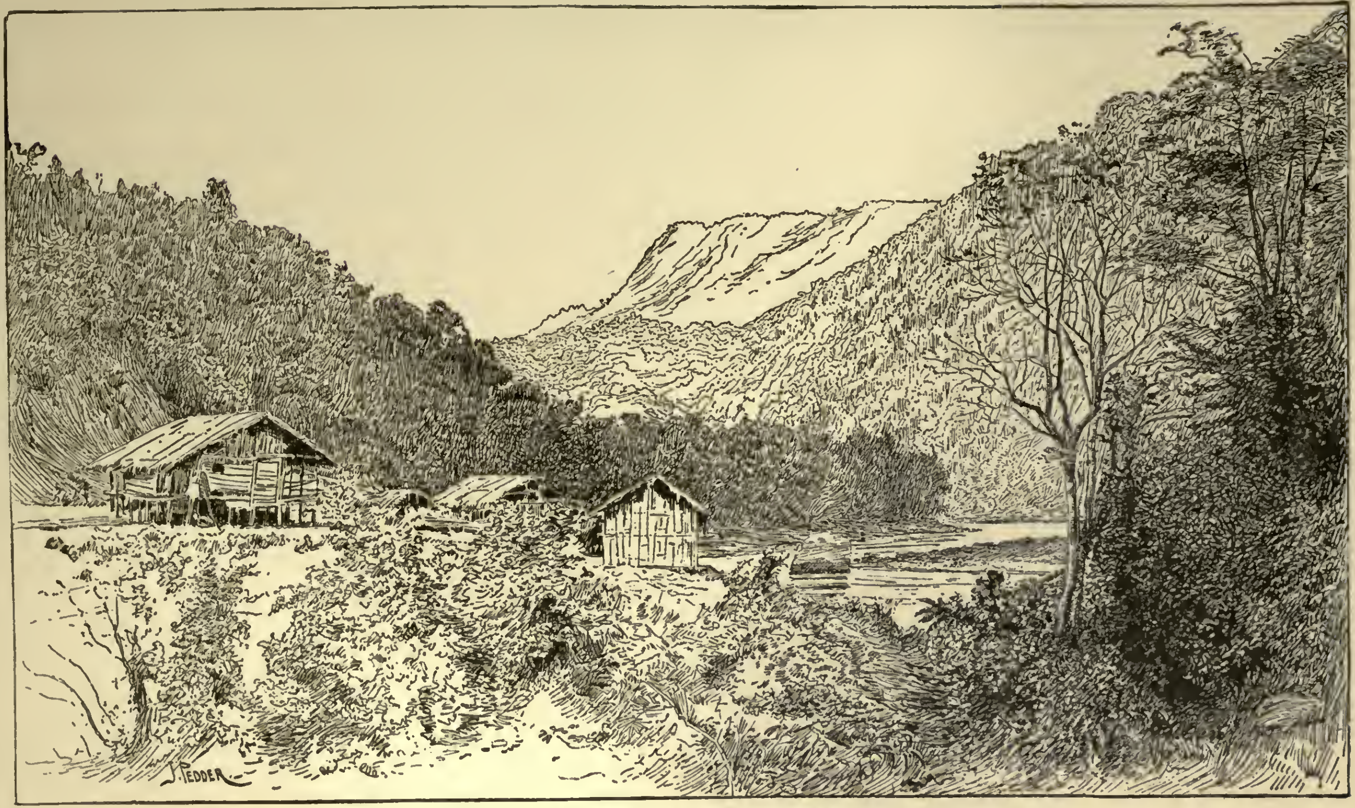
About 650 A. D.

A LARGE amount of information regarding the history and conditions of early India has been contributed by the Chinese travellers who visited Hindustan during the first millennium of the Christian era. Most of these travellers were Buddhist pilgrims bent on their pious mission of visiting the scenes which had been made holy by the presence of the Blessed One. Among the most valuable records written by one of these pilgrims from the Celestial Kingdom, as has already been pointed out in the second volume, was Hiuan Tsang, the contemporary of the Indian king Harsha, in the seventh century A. D. This devoted Buddhist left China in 629 A. D. and spent more than ten years in wandering throughout India. On his return to his native country he recorded his observations in a work entitled "Si-yu-ki," and the well-known chapter here reproduced from it gives a good account of Indian life as he saw it.

'We find that the designations for India (*T'ien-chu*) differ much according to the various authorities. The old names were *Shön-tu* or *Hién-tóu*, but we must now conform to the right pronunciation and call it *In-tu*. The people of In-tu call their country by various names according to their different districts. Each country has different customs. Adopting a general name that is the most acceptable to the people, we shall call the country In-tu, which signifies "moon." The moon has many designations, In-tu being one of them. It is said that all living creatures unceasingly transmigrate, revolving through mortal existences in the long darkness of ignorance without having a guiding star. It is like the night after the setting of the bright sun, when, although people get light by candles and have the shining light of the stars, these are not comparable with the brightness of the serene moon. For this reason the spiritual condition of India is allegorically compared with the shining moon.[1] The sages and the wise teachers of this country followed the norm (of the Buddha) in succession, guided the people, and exercised rule, as the moon sheds its bright influences—on this account this country is called In-tu.

The people of India are divided into castes, the Brahmans are noted particularly on account of their purity and nobility. Tradition has so hallowed the name of this class that there is no question as to dif-

[1] The candles, stars, moon, and sun are here compared allegorically with the common people, the lay scholars, Buddhist teachers, and the Buddha, according to the degrees of brightness or enlightenment in spiritual matters.



A SCENE IN THE TISTA VALLEY.

ference of place, but the people generally speak of India as the country of Brahmans (*Po-lo-men*).

The country embraced under the term India is generally spoken of as the Five Indies. In circuit this country is about ninety thousand *li*[1] (about 30,000 miles); on three sides it is bordered by the great seas; on the north it is backed by the Snowy Mountains. The northern part is broad, the southern part is narrow. Its shape is like the half-moon. The entire land is divided into more than seventy countries. The seasons are particularly hot; the land is well watered and moist. On the north there is a series of mountains and hills, the ground being dry and salt. On the east there are valleys and plains, which are fruitful and productive, as they are well watered and cultivated. In the southern part there is an abundance of herbs and trees; in the western part the land is barren and stony. Such is the general account; we shall now briefly give details.

In point of measurement, there is (first of all) the league (Chinese *yu-shen-na*, Sanskrit *yōjana*); from the time of the holy kings of old this has been regarded as a day's march for an army. The old accounts say one *yu-shen-na*, or yojana, is equal to forty *li* (about fourteen miles); according to the common reckoning in India it is thirty *li* (about ten miles), but in the sacred books (of the Buddha), the yojana is only sixteen *li* (about five miles). In the subdivision of dis-

[1] For a detailed discussion of the various values of the *li* consult Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 2d ed., p. 513, article "Lee."

tances, a yojana is equal to eight "shouts" (Chinese *ku-lu-she*, Sanskrit *krosa*); a *ku-lu-she*, or krosa, is the limit of distance that the lowing of a cow can be heard; in the division of the krosa, one krosa makes five hundred bow-lengths (Sanskrit *dhanu*); one bow-length is divided into four cubits (Sanskrit *hasta*); a cubit is divided into twenty-four fingers (Sanskrit *anguli*); a finger is divided into seven barley-corns (Sanskrit *yava*); and so on to a louse, a nit (*likshā*), a dust grain, a cow's hair, a sheep's hair, a hare's down, copper water, and so on for seven divisions, till we come to a fine dust; a grain of fine dust is divided sevenfold till we come to an excessively fine dust (*anu*); this cannot be divided farther without arriving at nothingness, and so it is called the atom (literally, "infinitely small," Sanskrit *paramānu*).

Although the revolution of the *Yin* and *Yang* (Negative and Positive Principles) and the successive mansions of the sun and moon are called by names different from ours, yet the seasons are the same; the names of the months are derived from the position of the lunar asterisms.

The shortest space of time is called an instant (Chinese *ts'a-na*, Sanskrit *kshana*); 120 kshanas make a *ta-ts'a-na* (Sanskrit *tatkshana*); sixty of these make a *la-fo* (Sanskrit *lava*); thirty of these make a *mau-hi-li-to* (*muhūrta*); five of these make a "watch" (Sanskrit *kāla*, literally, "time"); six of these make a day and night (*ahōratra*), but popular custom divides the days and nights into "watches" (*kālas*).

The period from the new moon till full moon is called the white division (Sanskrit *sukla-paksha*) of the month; the period from the full moon till the disappearance of the light is called the dark portion (*krishna-paksha*). The dark portion comprises fourteen or fifteen days, because the month is sometimes short and sometimes long. The preceding dark portion and the following light portion together form a month; six months form a "march" (Chinese *hing*, Sanskrit *ayana*). When the sun moves within the equator, it is said to be on its northward march; when it moves without the equator, it is on its southern march. These two periods form a year (Sanskrit *vatsara*).

The year, again, is divided into six seasons. From the sixteenth day of the first month till the fifteenth day of the third month is the season of gradual heat (literally "it becomes gradually hot"); from the sixteenth day of the third month till the fifteenth of the fifth month is called the season of full heat (literally, "it is very hot"); from the sixteenth day of the fifth month till the fifteenth day of the seventh month is called the rainy season; from the sixteenth of the seventh month till the fifteenth of the ninth month is called the season of growth (of vegetation); from the sixteenth day of the ninth month to the fifteenth day of the eleventh month is called the season of gradual cold (literally, "the season gradually becomes cold"); from the sixteenth day of the eleventh month to the fifteenth day of the first month is called the season of great cold.

According to the sacred doctrine of the Tathagata (Buddha), the year has three seasons. From the sixteenth day of the first month till the fifteenth day of the fifth month is called the hot season; from the sixteenth day of the fifth month till the fifteenth of the

AN INDIAN PICTURE SHOWING THE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC.

ninth month is called the rainy season; from the sixteenth day of the ninth month to the fifteenth day of the first month is called the cold season. Sometimes the year is divided into four seasons—spring, summer, autumn, and winter. The three spring months are called *Chi-ta-lo* (Sanskrit *Chaitra*) month, *Fei-she-kie* (Sanskrit *Vaisakha*) month, *She-se-ch'a* (Sanskrit

Jyēshtha) month; these correspond with the time from the sixteenth day of the last month to the fifteenth day of the fourth month. The three summer months are called '*An-sha-cha* (Sanskrit *Ashādha*) month, *Chi-lo-fa-na* (Sanskrit *Srāvana*) month, *Po-ta-lo-pa-to* (Sanskrit *Bhādrapada*) month; these correspond to the time from the sixteenth day of the fourth month to the fifteenth day of the seventh month. The three autumn months are called '*An-shi-fo-ku-che* (Sanskrit *Asvayuja*) month, *Kia-li-ta-ka* (Sanskrit *Kārtika*) month, *Wi-kia-chi-lo* (Sanskrit *Māragasīrsha*) month; these correspond to the time from the sixteenth day of the seventh month to the fifteenth day of the tenth month. The three months of winter are called *P'o-sha* (Sanskrit *Pushya*) month, *Ma-ku* (Sanskrit *Māgha*) month, and *P'o-li-kiu-na* (Sanskrit *Phālguna*) month; these correspond with the time from the sixteenth day of the tenth month to the fifteenth day of the first month in China. Therefore the Buddhist priests in India, following the holy teaching of the Buddha, observe two periods of Retreat during the rainy season, these being either the former three months or the latter three months. The former three months correspond to the period from the sixteenth day of the fifth month to the fifteenth day of the eighth month, and the latter correspond to the period from the sixteenth day of the sixth month to the fifteenth day of the ninth month.

Ancient translators of the Sutras (Chinese *King*) and the Vinaya (Chinese *Liu*) employed the terms *tso-hia* ("keeping summer") and *tso-la-hia* ("keep-

ing the end of winter") to signify the retreat during the rainy season; but this was because the people of foreign countries did not understand the exact sounds of the language of the Middle Country (of India), because the local dialects do not agree, and the translations therefore contain errors. And for the same reason there are discrepancies regarding the time of

A GANDHARA SCULPTURE, APPARENTLY PORTRAYING THE BATHING OF THE INFANT BUDDHA.

From the original in the editor's collection.

Buddha's conception, birth, renunciation, enlightenment, and Nirvana, which we shall notice in the subsequent records.

The towns and villages of India have gates; the surrounding walls are broad and high; the streets and lanes are narrow and crooked. The thoroughfares are dirty and the stalls are arranged on both sides of the road with appropriate signs. Butchers, fishermen, actors, executioners, scavengers, and so on, have their dwellings outside of the city. In coming and going

these persons are bound to keep on the left side of the road till they arrive at their homes. As to the construction of houses and the enclosing walls, the land being low and moist, the walls of the towns are mostly built of bricks or tiles, and the enclosures of the houses are matted bamboo or wood. The houses have balconies and belvederes made of wood, as well as flat roofs with a coating of lime, and are covered with burnt or unburnt tiles. The buildings are very high, and in style of construction they are like those in China. Branches or common grasses or tiles or boards are used for covering them. The walls are covered with lime, the floor is smeared with cow's dung as means of purity, and it is strewn with flowers of the season. In such matters they differ from us.

Many Samgharamas (Buddhist monasteries) are constructed with extraordinary skill. A three-storied tower is erected at each of the four angles. The beams and the projecting heads are carved with strange figures. The doors, the windows, and the walls are painted in many colours; the houses of the ordinary people are luxurious on the inside but plain on the outside. The interior and central rooms vary in height and width. As to the form and construction of the tiers of terraces and the series of salons, there is no fixed rule. The doors open toward the east; the royal throne also faces the east.

When the Hindus sit or rest they all use corded benches; the royal family, great personages, the officials, and the gentry use benches variously ornamented,

but in size they are the same. The throne of the reigning sovereign is exceedingly high and broad, and it is set with pearls and precious gems; it is called the lion-throne (Sanskrit *simhāsana*). It is covered with extremely fine drapery; the footstool is adorned with gems. The ordinary officials carve their seats in various ways and decorate them beautifully according to their taste.

The outer and the inner clothing of the Hindus is not cut or fashioned; they affect pure white garments, but dislike those of mixed colour. The men wind a cloth around the waist, gather it up under the armpits, and let it fall down across the shoulder to the right. The women wear robes reaching to the ground and completely covering the shoulders. They wear a little knot of hair on the crown of the head and let the rest of their hair hang down. Some of the men cut off their moustaches and have other odd customs. The people crown their heads with garlands and wear necklaces on their borders. Their garments are made of the *kiau-she-ye* (Sanskrit *kaushēya*) of muslin and of cotton. The *kiau-she-ye* is a product of the wild silkworm.

The people have also garments of *ts'o-mo* (Sanskrit *kshauma*), which is a sort of hemp; garments made of *kien-po-lo* (Sanskrit *kambala*), which is woven from fine wool; and garments made from *ho-la-li* (Sanskrit *karāla*). This stuff is made from the wool of a wild animal; it is fine, soft, and pliable for weaving, and is therefore excellent and esteemed for clothing.

In North India, where the climate is cold, the people wear short and close-fitting garments, very similar to those of the Hu people (Tartars). Some wear peacocks' feathers; some wear as ornaments necklaces made of skull bones (the Kapala-dharinas); some have no clothing, but go naked (the Nirgranthas); some use grasses or bark to cover their bodies; some pull out their hair and cut off their moustaches; others have bushy side-whiskers and their hair braided on the top of their heads. The costume of the people is not uniform in colour, whether red or white.

A FAKIR.

The costume of the Shamans (the Buddhist monks) is the three robes and the *sang-kio-ki* and *ni-fo-si-na.* The cut of the three robes is not the same, but depends on the school. Some have wide or narrow borders, others have small or large folds. The *sang-kio-ki* covers the left shoulder and conceals the two armpits. It is worn open on the left and closed on the right, and reaches down below the waist. The *ni-fo-si-na* has neither belt nor bands. When putting it on, it is plaited in folds and worn round the loins with a cord to fasten

it. The schools differ as to the colour of this garment, whether yellow or red.

The Kshatriyas and the Brahmans are plain and simple in their dress, and they live in a homely and frugal way. The king of the country and the chief ministers affect clothing of a good and fashionable style. They adorn their heads with garlands and jewelled caps; they ornament themselves with bracelets and necklaces.

Rich merchants and great traders have merely bracelets. Most of the people go barefooted; very few wear sandals. They stain their teeth red or black; they wear their hair cut even and pierce their ears; they have handsome noses and large eyes. Such is their appearance.

The Hindus are cleanly of their own accord and not by force. They generally wash themselves before each meal, and they never use that which has been left over (from a former meal), nor do they use their dishes a second time. Pottery or wooden vessels, when used, must be thrown away; vessels of gold, silver, copper, or iron must be rubbed and polished after each meal. After eating they cleanse their teeth with a willow stick, and wash their hands and mouth.

Until these ablutions are finished, they do not touch one another. Every time they perform the functions of nature, they wash and rub their bodies with perfumes made from sandalwood or turmeric. When the king goes to his bath, they strike the drums and sing hymns to the sound of musical instruments. Before

offering their religious worship and paying homage, they wash and bathe themselves.

The letters of their alphabet were made by the god Brahma, and their forms have been handed down from the beginning until now. They are forty-seven in number and are combined so as to form words according to the object, and different forms are used according to the circumstances of the case. These letters, moreover, after the manner of the streams of a river or the branches of a tree, have spread far and wide from their source and have become somewhat modified according to the place and the people. The spoken language has generally not varied from the original source, but the speech of Middle India is particularly accurate and precise. The manner of speaking there is harmonious and like the language of the gods. The pronunciation of the words is clear and distinct, and fit to be a model for all men. The people of the frontiers and of foreign countries, through repeating mistakes of their teachers until these have become standard and by yielding to vulgar habits, have lost the pure style of speaking.

AN AGED MUSICIAN WITH A GOURD - LYRE.

With respect to the records and documents, each

province has its own official for preserving them in writing. The annals and state papers are collectively called *ni-lo-pi-ch'a* (Sanskrit *nīlapita*, "blue deposit"). In these records good and evil events are mentioned, together with calamities and fortunate occurrences.

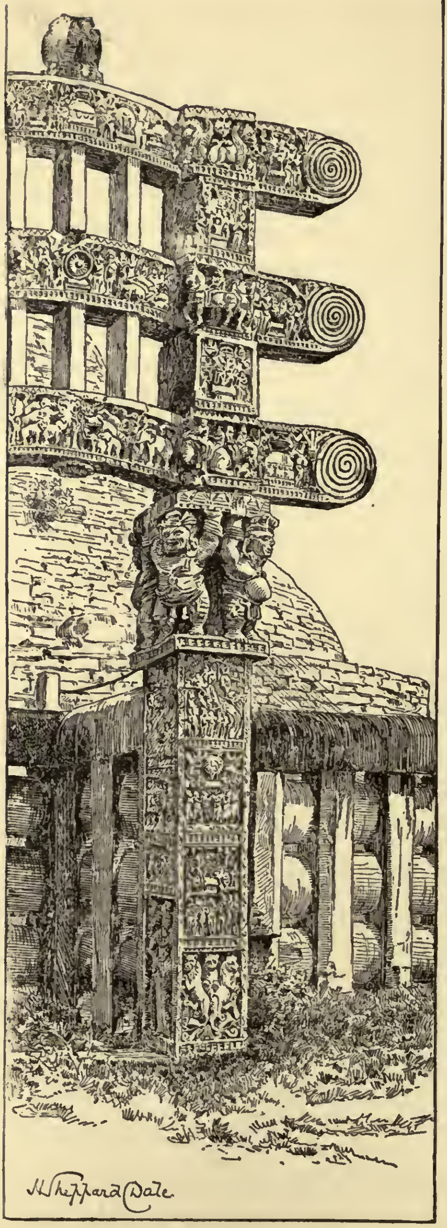
To educate and encourage the young, they first teach them to study the book of "Twelve Chapters" (Sanskrit *siddhavastu*). After arriving at the age of seven years, the young are instructed in the great treatises of the "Five Sciences" (Sanskrit *vidyā*). The first is called Grammar, the elucidation of sounds (Sanskrit *sabdavidyā*). This treatise explains the meaning of words and their derivation.

The second science is called *kiau-ming* (Sanskrit *silpasthānavidyā*); it treats of the arts and of mechanics, and it explains the principles of the *Yin* and *Yang* (Negative and Positive Principles) and of the calendar. The third is called the "Medicinal Treatise" (Sanskrit *chikitsavidyā*); it illustrates the use of charms, medicinal stones, needles, and moxa. The fourth science is called "Logic" (Sanskrit *hētuvidyā*, "science of reasoning"), which determines the right and the wrong and discriminates between the true and the false. The fifth science is called the science of "Inward Knowledge" (Sanskrit *ādhyātmavidhā*); it relates to the Five Vehicles, and the doctrine of cause and effect (*karma*).

The Brahmans study the four Veda treatises. The first is called *Shau* ("longevity," *i. e.* the Ayur-Veda); it relates to the preservation of life and the regulation

of the natural condition. The second is called *Sse* ("worship," *i.e.* the Yajur-Veda); it relates to sacrifice and prayer. The third is called *Ping* ("peace, regulation" *i.e.* the Sama-Veda); it relates to decorum, casting of lots, military tactics, and warfare. The fourth is called *Shu* ("arts," *i.e.* the Atharva-Veda); it relates to various branches of science, incantations, medicine.

The teachers (of these works) must themselves have closely studied the deep and secret principles which they contain, and must have penetrated to their remotest meaning. They then explain their general sense, and instruct their pupils in matters of detail. They urge them on and skilfully guide them. They add lustre to their poor knowledge and stimulate the dull. When pupils who are keen and intelligent are inclined to shirk their tasks and duties, the teacher repeats the lesson until they acquire it. When the students have finished their education and are thirty years of age, their character is formed and their knowledge ripe. When they have secured an occupation, they first of all repay their master for his kindness. There are some, deeply versed in antiquity, who devote themselves to elegant studies and live apart from the world, leading lives of self-abnegation. These come and go outside of the world and wander about apart from mundane things. Although as insensible to renown as to the contempt of the world, their fame is far spread, and rulers esteem them highly, but are unable to attract them to the court. The state honours them on account of their



A GATEWAY OF THE BUDDHIST STUPA AT SANCHI.

mental gifts, and the people exalt their fame and render them universal homage. This is the reason of their devoting themselves to their studies with ardour and resolution, without any sense of fatigue. They seek to acquire a knowledge of the sciences and go to visit the man who has attained it, not taking the distance of one thousand *li* into account. Although their family may be possessed of large wealth, they nevertheless prefer to live like mendicants and to get their food by begging as they wander to and fro. They have the honour of knowing the truth and there is no disgrace in being destitute of money. There are others who lead

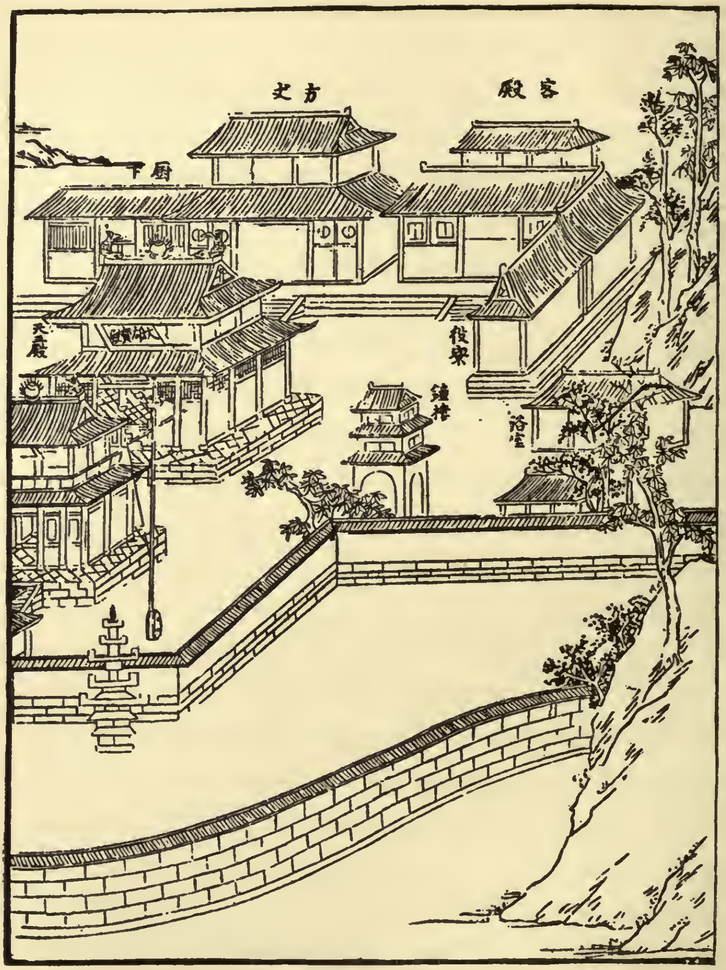
idle lives, abounding in food and luxurious in their dress, men without any good quality or attainment, and on such persons come shame and disgrace, and their ill repute is far spread.

The doctrines of the Tathagata (Buddha) may be comprehended by men of different qualities; but, as the time is now remote since the Holy One lived, his doctrine is presented in a changed form, and is therefore understood orthodoxly or heterodoxly, according to the intelligence of those who inquire into it. The different schools are constantly at variance, and their contending utterances rise like the angry waves of the sea. The different schools have their separate masters, but they aim to reach one and the same end, though by different ways.

There are eighteen schools, each claiming pre-eminence. The tenets of the Great and the Little Vehicle differ widely. There are some of the followers who give themselves up to meditation, and devote themselves, whether walking, standing still, or sitting down, to the acquirement of wisdom and insight. Others, on the contrary, differ from these in raising noisy contentions about their faith. According to their fraternity, they are governed by distinctive rules and regulations, which we need not name.

The Vinaya (Chinese *Liu*), the Abhidharmas, or Discourses (Chinese *Lun*), and the Sutras (Chinese *King*), are equally Buddhist books. He who can explain one class of these books is exempted from the control of the prior of the monastery. If he can explain

two classes, he receives in addition the equipments of a superior; he who can explain three classes has serv-



A CHINESE BUDDHIST MONASTERY.

ants allotted to him to wait upon him and obey him; he who can explain four classes has "pure men" (cf. Sanskrit *upāsakas*) allotted to him as attendants; he who can explain five classes of books is allowed an

elephant and carriage; he who can explain six classes of books is allowed a surrounding escort. When a man's renown has reached high distinction, he then at different times convokes an assembly for discussion of the treatises. He judges of the superior or inferior talent of those who take part in it; he distinguishes their good or bad points; he praises the clever and reproves the faulty. If one of the assembly distinguishes himself by refined language, subtle investigation, eloquent diction, and acute reasoning, he then is mounted on a richly caparisoned elephant and conducted by a numerous suite to the gates of the monastery.

If, on the contrary, one of the members breaks down in his argument, or uses poor and inelegant phrases, or if he violates a rule in logic and adapts his words accordingly, they daub his face with red and white, and cover his body with dirt and dust, and then carry him off to some deserted spot or leave him in a ditch. Thus they distinguish between the meritorious and the worthless, between the wise and the foolish.

The pursuit of pleasure belongs to a worldly life, to follow knowledge appertains to a religious life; to return to a worldly life from a life of religion is considered blameworthy. If one breaks the rules of discipline, such a transgressor is publicly reproved; for a slight fault a reprimand is given him, for the next heavier one he is excluded from conversation with the brethren; for a grave offence expulsion is enforced. Those who are thus expelled for life go out to seek

some dwelling-place, or, finding no place of refuge, become wanderers; or sometimes they go back to their old occupation (*i. e.* resume lay life).

With respect to the divisions of caste, there are four classes. The first is called the Brahman (Chinese *Po-lo-men*), men of pure lives. They adhere to the teachings of the religion, live clean lives, and observe the most correct principles. The second is called Kshatriya (Chinese *T'sa-ti-li*), the royal caste. For ages they have been the ruling class: they apply themselves to benevolence and mercy. The third is called Vaisyas (Chinese *Fei-she-li*), the merchant class; they engage in commercial transactions and seek for profit at home and abroad. The fourth is called Sudra (Chinese *Shu-t'o-lo*), the agricultural class; they engage in cultivating the soil and occupy themselves with sowing and reaping. These four castes form different classes of various degrees of ceremonial purity. The members of a caste marry within their own class; the high and the low are kept quite separate. They do not allow promiscuous marriages between relations either on the father's side or on the mother's side. A woman once married can never take another husband. Besides these there are mixed castes, a variety of classes formed by different grades of people intermarrying. It would be difficult to speak of these in detail.

The succession of kings is confined to the Kshatriya (Chinese *T'sa-ti-li*) caste; usurpation and bloodshed have occasionally arisen (in the matter of succession), and even other castes have assumed the dignity.

The Buddhist Tope at Sarnath near Benares

The great tope, or Buddhist memorial tower, at Sarnath, near Benares, is one of the most sacred shrines of the ancient faith of Gautama the Blessed. It commemorates the place where Buddha, after receiving his enlightenment, preached his first sermon and taught the doctrine of quenching the fire of lust in the human heart, a cardinal tenet of his faith.

The chief soldiers of the country are selected from the bravest of the people, and as the sons follow the profession of their fathers, they soon acquire a knowledge of the art of war. These dwell in garrison around the palace (during times of peace), but when on an expedition they march in front as an advance guard. There are four divisions of the army, the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots, and the elephants. The elephants are covered with strong armour, and their tusks are provided with sharp spurs. The commander-in-chief rides on an elephant, with two soldiers on the right and left to manage the animal. The ordinary officer rides in a chariot drawn by four horses; he is surrounded by a file of guards, who keep close to his chariot wheels.

The cavalry spread themselves in front to resist an attack, and in case of defeat they carry orders hither and thither. The infantry by their quick movements contribute to the defence. These men are chosen for their courage and strength. They carry a great shield and a long spear; sometimes they hold a sword or sabre, and advance to the front with impetuosity. All their weapons of war are sharp and pointed. Some of them are these—spears, shields, bows, arrows, swords, sabres, battle-axes, lances, halberds, long javelins, and various kinds of slings. All these they have used for ages.

With respect to the ordinary people, although they are naturally quick-tempered, yet they will not take anything wrongly and they yield more than justice

requires. In money matters they are without craft, and in administering justice they are considerate. They dread the retribution of another state of existence and

A GANDHARA SCULPTURE OF BUDDHA.

make light of the things of the present world. They are not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct, and are faithful to their oaths and promises. In their rules of government there is remarkable rectitude, while in their behaviour there is much gentleness and sweetness.

The law of the state is sometimes violated by base persons, and plots are made against the ruler. When the matter has been fully sifted, the offenders are imprisoned for life. There is no infliction of corporal punishment; they are simply left to live or die, and are not counted among men. When the rules of propriety or justice are violated, or when a man fails in loyalty or filial piety, they cut off his nose or his ears, or his hands and feet, or expel him from the country, or drive him out into the desert wilds. For other faults, except these, a small payment of money will commute the punishment. In the investigation of criminal cases there is no use of rod or staff to obtain proofs (of guilt). In questioning an accused person, if he replies with frankness, the punishment is proportioned accordingly; but if the accused obstinately denies his fault, or in spite of it attempts to excuse himself, then in searching out the truth to the bottom, when it is necessary to pass sentence, there are four kinds of ordeal used—ordeal by water, by fire, by weighing, and by poison.

When the ordeal is by water, the accused is placed in a sack connected with a stone vessel and thrown into deep water. They then judge of his innocence or guilt in this way—if the man sinks and the stone floats, he is guilty; but if the man floats and the stone sinks, he is pronounced innocent.

Secondly, by fire. They heat some iron and make the accused kneel on it and then tread on it, and apply it to the palms of his hands; moreover, he is made to

pass his tongue over it; if no scars result, he is innocent; if there are scars, his guilt is proved. In the case of timid and weak persons who cannot endure such a horrible ordeal, they take a flower-bud and cast it toward the fire; if it opens, he is innocent; if the flower is burned, he is guilty.

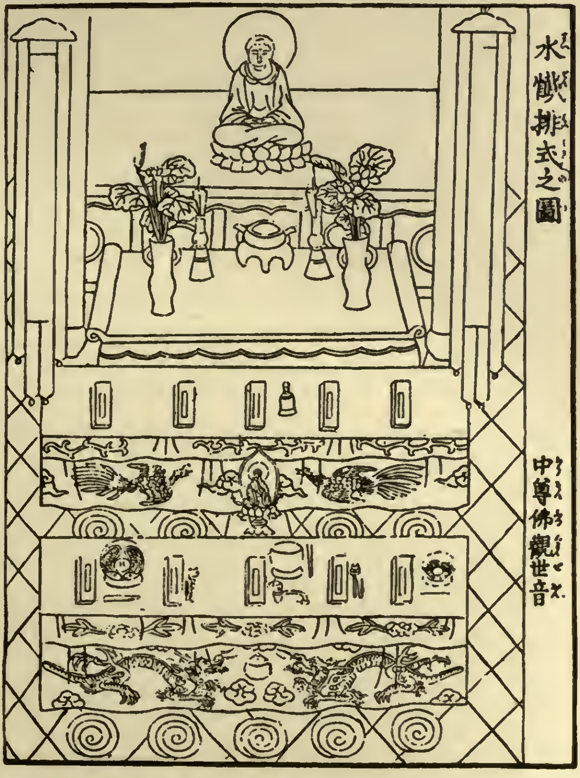
Ordeal by weight is this: A man and a stone are placed in a balance evenly, then they judge according to lightness or weight. If the accused is innocent, then the man weighs down the stone, which rises in the balance; if he is guilty, the man rises and the stone falls.

Ordeal by poison is this: They take a ram, cut off its right hind leg, and put poison upon the portion of flesh that is assigned to the accused to eat; if the man is guilty, the poison takes effect and he dies; if the man is innocent, the poison has no effect and he survives.

There are nine methods of showing outward respect: first, by greeting with a kind inquiry; second, by bowing the head reverently; third, by raising the hands with an inclination of the body; fourth, by bowing with the hands folded on the breast; fifth, by bending the knee; sixth, by an obeisance; seventh, by going down upon the ground on one's hands and knees; eighth, by going down upon the ground with the knees, elbows, and forehead; ninth, by prostrating oneself upon the earth. Of these nine methods the most respectful is to make one prostration on the ground and then to kneel and laud the virtues of the one addressed. When at a distance, it is usual to bow low; when near,

it is customary to kiss the feet and rub the ankles of a high personage.

Whenever orders are received at the hands of a superior, the person lifts the skirts of his robes and



PARAPHERNALIA FOR A CHINESE BUDDHIST RITUAL OBSERVANCE.

makes a prostration. The superior or honourable person who is thus reverenced must speak gently (to the inferior), either touching his head or patting his back, and addressing him with good words of direction or advice to show his affection. When a Sramana (Buddhist monk) or one who has entered on the religious

life, has been thus respectfully addressed, he replies simply by expressing a benediction. Not only do they prostrate themselves to show reverence, but many circumambulate any object that is to be venerated, making sometimes one circuit, sometimes three circumambulations, or as many as they wish if they have a special petition in mind.

Every one who falls sick fasts for seven days. During this interval many recover, but if the sickness lasts they take medicine. The character of these medicines is different, and their names also vary. The doctors differ in their modes of examination and treatment. If a person dies, those who attend the funeral raise lamentable cries and weep together. They rend their garments and tear their hair; they strike their heads and beat their breasts. There are no regulations as to dress for mourning, nor any fixed period for observing it. There are three methods of paying the last tribute to the dead: first, by cremation—wood being made into a pyre, the body is burnt; second, by water—the body is thrown into a stream to float and fall into dissolution; third, by desertion, in which case the body is cast into some forest-wild to be devoured by beasts.

When the king dies, his successor is first appointed, that he may preside at the funeral rites and fix the different points of precedence. Whilst living they give their rulers titles of merit according to their character; when dead there are no posthumous titles.

In a house where there has been a death there is no eating allowed; but after the funeral they resume

their usual habits. There are no anniversaries (of the death) observed. Those who have attended a funeral are regarded as unclean; they all bathe outside the town and then enter their houses.

The old and infirm who are approaching death, or those who are suffering from some incurable disease, who fear to linger to the end of their days, and through disgust at life wish to escape from its troubles, or those who, contemning mortal existence, desire release from the affairs of the world and its concerns—these persons, after receiving a farewell meal at the hands of their relatives and friends, they place, amid the sounds of music, on a boat which they propel into the midst of the Ganges, and there these persons drown themselves. They think in this way to secure a birth in Heaven. Hardly one out of ten will not carry out his foolish idea.

AN INDIAN REPRESENTATION OF BUDDHA.

The Buddhist brethren are not allowed to lament or weep for the dead; when the father or mother of a monk dies, they recite prayers, recounting their obligations to them and recalling the past, and they carefully attend to them being now dead. They expect by this to increase the happiness of the departed.

As the administration of the government is founded on benign principles, the executive is simple. The fam-

ilies are not entered on registers, and the people are not subject to forced labour contribution. The private demesnes of the crown are divided into four principal parts; the first is for carrying out the affairs of state and providing sacrificial offerings; the second is for the endowment of the ministers and chief officers of state; the third is for rewarding men of distinguished intelligence, learning, or ability; and the fourth is for charity to religious bodies, whereby the field of merit is cultivated (planted). In this way the taxes on the people are light, and the personal service required of them is moderate. Each one keeps his hereditary occupation as he pleases and attends to his patrimony. Those who cultivate the royal estates pay a sixth part of the produce as rent. The merchants who engage in commerce come and go in carrying out their transactions. The river-passages and the road-barriers are open on payment of a small toll. When the public works require it, labour is exacted but paid for. The payment is in strict proportion to the work done.

The military guard the frontiers, or go out to punish the refractory. They also mount guard at night round the palace. The soldiers are levied according to the requirements of the service; they are promised certain payments and are publicly enrolled. The governors, ministers, magistrates, and officials have each a portion of land consigned to them for their personal support.

The climate and the quality of the soil being diverse,

the produce of the land varies in its character. The flowers and herbs, the fruits and trees are of different kinds, and have distinct names. There are, for instance, of the fruits the *āmra* (*ngan-mo-lo*, or mango), the *āmla* (*ngan-mi-lo*, or tamarind), the *madhūka* (*mo-tu-kia*, or Bassia latifolia), the *badara* (*po-ta-lo*, or jujube), the *kapittha* (*kie-pi-ta*, or wood-apple), the *āmala* (*'o-mo-lo*, or myrobalan), the *tinduka* (*chin-tu-kia*, or Diospyros embryopteris), the *udumbara* (*wu-tan-po-lo*, or Ficus glomerata), the *mōcha* (*mau-che*, or plantain), the *nāri-kēla* (*na-li-ki-lo*, or cocoa-nut), and the *panasa* (*pan-na-so*, or jack-fruit). It would be difficult to enumerate all the kinds of fruit; we have briefly named those most esteemed by the people. As for the date (*tsau*), the chestnut (*lih*), the loquat (*p'i*), and the persimmon (*thi*), they are not known in India. The pear (*li*), the wild plum (*nai*), the peach (*tau*), the apricot (*hang* or *mui*), the grape (*po-tau*), and the like have all been brought from the country of Kashmir, and are found growing here and there. Pomegranates and sweet oranges are grown everywhere.

In cultivating the land, those whose duty it is sow and reap, plough and harrow, and plant according to the season; and after their labour they rest awhile. Among the products of the ground, rice and wheat are most plentiful. With respect to edible herbs and vegetables, we may name ginger and mustard, melons and pumpkins, the *heun-to* plant (Skt. *kunda*, properly the olibanum-tree), and others. Onions and garlic are little grown, and few persons eat them; if any one uses them

for food, they are expelled beyond the walls of the town. The most usual food is milk, butter, cream, soft sugar, sugar-candy, the oil of the mustard-seed, and likewise all sorts of cakes made of corn. Fish, mutton, the flesh of the gazelle, and venison they eat generally fresh, sometimes salted; they are forbidden to eat the flesh of the ox, the ass, the elephant, the horse, the pig, the dog, the fox, the wolf, the lion, the monkey, and all the hairy kind. Those who eat them are despised and scorned, and are universally reprobated; they live outside the walls and are seldom seen among men.

With respect to the different kinds of wine and beverages, there are distinctions in usage. Wines from the grape and the sugar-cane are used by the Kshatriyas as drink; the Vaisyas take strong fermented drinks; the Sramanas and Brahmans drink a sort of syrup made from the grape or the sugar-cane, but not of the nature of fermented wine.

The mixed classes and low born (Sudras) differ in no way (as to food or drink) from the rest, except in respect of the vessels they use, which are very different both as to value and material. There is no lack of suitable things for household use. Although they have saucepans and stew-pans, yet they do not know the steam-boiler used for cooking rice. Their household utensils are mostly earthenware, few being of brass; they eat from one vessel, mixing all sorts of condiments together, which they take up with their fingers. Generally speaking, spoons and chop-sticks are not used. When sick, however, they use copper spoons.

Gold and silver, *tóu-shï* (a sort of native brass), white jade, and crystals are the natural products of the country, and are very abundant. Rare precious substances of different sorts and various names are collected from the regions bordering upon the sea, and are bartered for merchandise. But in their commercial transactions, gold and silver coins, cowries, and small pearls are the medium of exchange.'

AN INDIAN POT.

CHAPTER IV

AL-BIRUNI'S ARABIC ACCOUNT OF THE HINDU RELIGION

1030 A. D.

ONE of the most famous of the historic accounts of India is that written in Arabic by al-Biruni nearly a thousand years ago. This learned man was a native of the Transcaspian district of Khwarizm, corresponding to the modern Khanate of Khiva, but he lived at the court of Mahmud of Ghazni and died there in 1048 A. D. His scientific work entitled "Chronology of Ancient Nations," dedicated to Mahmud in 1030 A. D., would alone have sufficed to render his name renowned. But it was followed by a still more important volume, "India," which was the outcome of several years of travel and residence in the land between the Indus and the Ganges, where he studied under Brahman teachers and thus became acquainted with the Sanskrit language and their ancient sacred law. The value of this interesting book for all matters appertaining to the geography, history, and culture of the Hindus has been well brought out by its translator, Sachau, from whose version selections relating to the

Hindu religion and to pilgrimages made to sacred shrines are here given.

' The belief of educated and uneducated people differs in every nation; for the former strive to conceive abstract ideas and to define general principles, while the latter do not pass beyond the apprehension of the senses and are content with derived rules, without caring for details, especially in questions of religion and law, regarding which opinions and interests are divided.

With regard to God, the Hindus believe that he is one, eternal, without beginning and end, acting by free will, almighty, all-wise, living, giving life, ruling, and preserving; one who is unique in his sovereignty, beyond all likeness and unlikeness, and neither resembling anything nor having anything resemble him. In order to illustrate this, we shall produce some extracts from the Hindu literature, lest the reader should think that our account is nothing but hearsay.

In the book of Patanjali the pupil asks: " Who is the worshipped one, by the worship of whom blessing is obtained?" The master says: " It is he who, being eternal and unique, does not for his part stand in need of any human action for which he might give as a recompense either a blissful repose, which is hoped and longed for, or a troubled existence, which is feared and dreaded. He is unattainable to thought, being sublime beyond all unlikeness which is abhorrent and all likeness which is sympathetic. By his essence he knows from all eternity. Knowledge, in the human sense of

the term, has as its object that which was unknown before, whilst not knowing does not apply to God at any time or in any condition."

Further the pupil asks: "Do you attribute other qualities to him besides those you have mentioned?" The master says: "He is height, absolute in the idea, not in space, for he is sublime beyond all existence in any space. He is the pure, absolute good, longed for by every created being. He is the knowledge free from the defilement of forgetfulness and not-knowing."

The pupil asks: "Do you attribute to him speech or not?" The master says: "As he knows, he doubtless also speaks." The pupil asks: "If he speaks because he knows, what, then, is the difference between him and the knowing sages who have spoken of their knowing?" The master says: "The difference between them is time, for they have learned in time and spoken in time, after having been not-knowing and not-speaking. By speech they have transferred their knowledge to others. Therefore their speaking and acquiring knowledge take place in time. And as divine matters have no connection with time, God is knowing and speaking from eternity. It was he who spoke to Brahma and to others of the first beings in different ways. On the one he bestowed a book; for the other he opened a door, a means of communicating with him; a third he inspired so that he obtained by cogitation what God bestowed upon him."

The pupil asks: "Whence has he this knowing?" The master answers: "His knowing is the same from

all eternity, for ever and ever. As he has never been not-knowing, he is knowing of himself, having never acquired any knowledge which he did not possess before. In the Veda which he sent down upon Brahma he says: 'Praise and celebrate him who has spoken the Veda, and was before the Veda.'" The pupil asks: "How do you worship him to whom the perception of the senses cannot attain?" The master says: "His name proves his existence, for where there is a report, there must be something to which it refers; and where there is a name, there must be something which is named. He is hidden to the senses and unperceivable by them. However, the soul perceives him, and thought comprehends his qualities. This meditation is identical with worshipping him exclusively, and by practising it uninterruptedly beatitude is obtained."

THE GOD BRAHMA.
From Moor's Hindu Pantheon.

In such a manner the Hindus express themselves in that very famous book. The following passage is taken from the conversation between Vasudeva (Krishna) and Arjuna in the Bhagavadgita:

"I am the universe, without a beginning by being born, and without an end by dying. Whatever I do I do not aim at any recompense. I do not specially belong to one class of beings to the exclusion of others, as if I were the friend of one and the enemy of others. I have given to each one in my creation what is sufficient for him in all his functions. Therefore, whoever knows me in this capacity, and tries to become similar to me by keeping desire apart from his action, his fetters will be loosened and he will be saved and freed."

Further Vasudeva says in the same book: "It is desire which causes most men to take refuge with God for their wants. But if you examine their case closely, you will find that they are very far from having an accurate knowledge of him; for God is not apparent to every one so that he might perceive him with his senses. Therefore they do not know him. Some of them do not pass beyond what their senses perceive; and while some pass beyond this, they stop at the knowledge of the laws of nature, without learning that above them there is one who did not give birth nor was born, the essence of whose being has not been comprehended by the knowledge of any one, while his own knowledge comprehends everything."

This is what educated people believe about God. They consider the unity of God as absolute, but that everything beside God which may appear as a unity is really a plurality of things. The existence of God they consider as a real existence, because everything that exists exists through him. It is not impossible to think

that the existing beings are not and that he is, but it is impossible to think that he is not and that they are.

If we now pass from the ideas of the educated people among the Hindus to those of the common people, we must first state that they present a great

THE GOD KRISHNA, OR VASUDEVA.

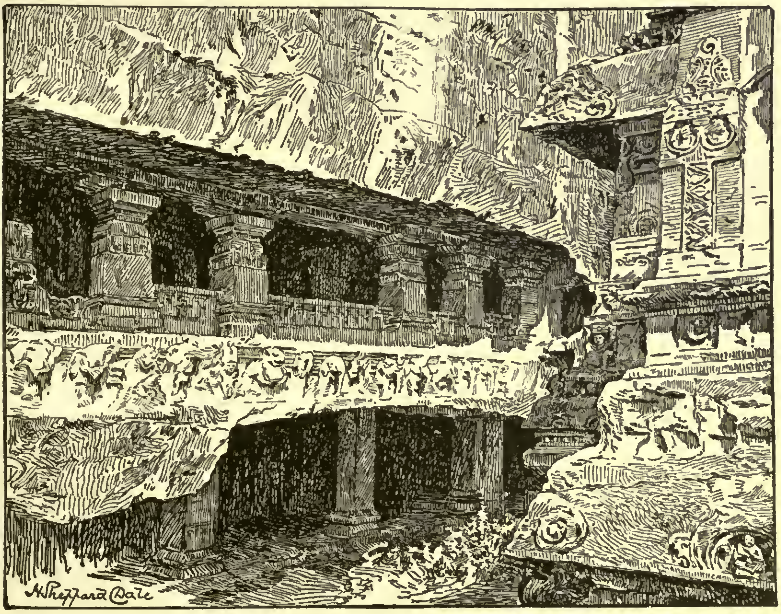
variety. Some of them are simply abominable, but similar errors occur also in other religions. Nay, even in Islam we must decidedly disapprove of the anthropomorphic doctrines, the teachings of the Jabriyya sect, the prohibition of the discussion of religious topics, and such like. Every religious sentence destined for the people at large must be carefully worded, as the following example shows. Some Hindu scholar calls God " a point," meaning to say thereby that the

qualities of bodies do not apply to him. Now some uneducated man reads this and imagines that God is as small as a point, and he does not find out what the word "point" in this sentence was really intended to express. He will not even stop with this offensive comparison, but will describe God as much larger, and will say, "He is twelve fingers long and ten fingers broad." Further, if an uneducated man hears what we have mentioned, that God comprehends the universe so that nothing is concealed from him, he will at once imagine that this comprehending is effected by means of eyesight; that eyesight is only possible by means of an eye, and that two eyes are better than only one; and in consequence he will describe God as having a thousand eyes, meaning to describe his omniscience.

Similar hideous fictions are sometimes met with among the Hindus, especially among those castes who are not allowed to occupy themselves with science, of whom we shall speak hereafter.

As the word of confession, "There is no god but God, Mohammed is his prophet," is the shibboleth of Islam, the Trinity that of Christianity, and the institution of the Sabbath that of Judaism, so metempsychosis is the shibboleth of the Hindu religion. Therefore he who does not believe in it does not belong to them, and is not reckoned as one of them. For they hold that the soul, as long as it has not risen to the highest absolute intelligence, does not comprehend the totality of objects at once. Therefore it must explore all particular beings and examine all the possibilities

of existence; and as their number is, though not unlimited, still an enormous one, the soul requires an enormous space of time in order to finish the contemplation of such a multiplicity of objects. The soul acquires knowledge only by the contemplation of the individuals and the species, and of their peculiar actions



A HINDU CAVE TEMPLE AT ELLORA.

and conditions. It gains experience from each object, and thereby gathers new knowledge.

However, these actions differ in the same measure as the three primary forces differ. Besides, the world is not left without some direction, being led, as it were, by a bridle and directed toward a definite scope. Therefore the imperishable souls wander about in perishable bodies conformably to the difference of their actions,

as they prove to be good or bad. The object of the migration through the world of reward (*i. e.* heaven) is to direct the attention of the soul to the good, that it may become desirous of acquiring as much of it as possible. The object of its migration through the world of punishment (*i. e.* hell) is to direct its attention to the bad and abominable, that it may strive to keep as far as possible aloof from it.

The migration begins from low stages and rises to higher and better ones, not the contrary, as we state on purpose, since the one is *a priori* as possible as the other. The difference of these lower and higher stages depends upon the difference of the actions, and this again results from the quantitative and qualitative diversity of the temperaments and the various degrees of combinations in which they appear.

This migration lasts until the object aimed at has been completely attained both for the soul and matter; the lower aim being the disappearance of the shape of matter, except any such new formation as may appear desirable; the higher aim being the ceasing of the desire of the soul to learn what it did not know before, the insight of the soul into the nobility of its own being and its independent existence, its knowing that it can dispense with matter after it has become acquainted with the mean nature of matter and the instability of its shapes, with all that which matter offers to the senses, and with the truth of the tales about its delights. Then the soul turns away from matter; the connecting links are broken, and the union

The Golden Temple and Lake Amritsar.
From a Photograph.

is dissolved. Separation and dissolution take place, and the soul returns to its home, carrying with itself as much of the bliss of knowledge as sesame develops grains and blossoms, never afterwards separating from its oil. The intelligent being, intelligence and its object, are united and become one.

It is now our duty to produce from Hindu literature some clear testimonies as to this subject, together with cognate theories of other nations.

In the Bhagavadgita Vasudeva urges Arjuna on to battle, whilst they stand between the two lines, in the following words: "If you believe in predestination, you must know that neither they nor we are mortal, and do not go hence without returning, for souls are immortal and unchangeable. They migrate through the bodies, while man changes from childhood into youth, into manhood, and into infirm age, the end of which is the death of the body. Thereafter the soul proceeds on its return." Further he says: "How can a man think of death and being killed who knows that the soul is eternal, not having been born and not perishing; that the soul is something stable and constant; that no sword can cut it, no fire burn it, no water extinguish it, and no wind wither it? The soul migrates from its body, after it has become old, into another, a different one, as the body, when its dress has become old, is clad in another. What then is your sorrow about a soul which does not perish? If it were perishable, it would be more becoming that you should not sorrow about a thing which may be dispensed with, which

does not exist, and does not return into existence. But if you look more to your body than to your soul, and are in anxiety about its perishing, you must know that all that which is born dies, and that all that which dies returns into another existence. However, both life and death are not your concern. They are in the hands of God, from whom all things come and to whom they return."

A BUDDHIST FUNERAL URN.

In the further course of conversation Arjuna asks Vasudeva: "How did you dare thus to fight Brahma, Brahma who was before the world was and before man was, whilst you are living among us as a being whose birth and age are known?" Thereupon Vasudeva answered: "Externity (pre-existence) is common both to us and to him. How often have we lived together when I knew the times of our life and death, whilst they were concealed from you! When I desire to appear in order to do some good, I array myself in a body, since one cannot be with man except in a human shape."

People tell a tale of a king, whose name I have forgotten, who ordered his people to bury his body, after his death, on a spot where never before had a

dead person been buried. Now they sought for such a spot, but could not find it; finally, on finding a rock projecting out of the ocean, they thought they had found what they wanted. But then Vasudeva said unto them: "This king has already been burned on this identical rock many times. But now do as you like; for the king sought only to give you a lesson, and his aim has now been attained."

Vasudeva says: "He who hopes for salvation and strives to free himself from the world, but whose heart is not obedient to his wish, will be rewarded for his action in the worlds of those who receive a good reward; but he does not attain his last object on account of his deficiency, therefore he will return to this world, and will be found worthy of entering a new shape of a kind of beings whose special occupation is devotion. Divine inspiration helps him to raise himself in this new shape by degrees to that which he already wished for in the first shape. His heart begins to comply with his wish; he is purified more and more in the different shapes, until at last he obtains salvation in an uninterrupted series of new births."

Further, Vasudeva says: "If the soul is free from matter, it is knowing; but as long as it is clad in matter, the soul is not-knowing, on account of the turbid nature of matter. It thinks that it is an agent, and that the actions of the world are prepared for its sake. Therefore it clings to them, and it is stamped with the impressions of the senses. When, then, the soul leaves the body, the traces of the impressions of the

senses remain in it and are not completely eradicated, as it longs for the world of sense and returns toward it. And since in these stages it undergoes changes entirely opposed to each other, it is thereby subject to the influences of the three primary forces. What, there-

RUINS AT UJJAIN, SAID TO HAVE BEEN THE NATIVE TOWN OF VARAHAMIHIRA.

fore, can the soul do, its wing being cut, if it is not sufficiently trained and prepared?"

In the Vishnu-Dharma, Markandeya, speaking of the spiritual beings, says: "Brahma, Karttikeya, son of Mahadeva, Lakshmi, who produced the Ambrosia, Daksha, who was beaten by Mahadeva, and Umadevi, the wife of Mahadeva, each of them has lived in the middle of this present age, and they have already been the same many times." In similar vein the astronomer Varahamihira speaks of the influences of the comets,

and of the calamities which befall men when they appear. These calamities compel them to emigrate from their homes, lean from exhaustion, moaning over their mishap, leading their children by the hand along the road, and saying to each other in low tones: "We are punished for the sins of our kings;" whereupon others answer: "Not so. This is the retribution for what we have done in the former life, before we entered these bodies."

The following passage is taken from the book of the philosopher Patanjali: "The soul, being tied on all sides to ignorance, which is the cause of its being fettered, is like rice in its cover. As long as it is there, it is capable of growing and ripening in the transition stages between being born and giving birth itself. But if the cover is taken off the rice, it ceases to develop in this way, and becomes stationary. The retribution of the soul depends on the various kinds of creatures through which it wanders, upon the extent of life, whether it be long or short, and upon the particular kind of its happiness, be it scanty or ample."

The pupil asks: "What is the condition of the spirit when it has a claim to a recompense or has committed a crime, and is then entangled in a kind of new birth either in order to receive bliss or to be punished?" The master says: "It migrates according to what it has previously done, fluctuating between happiness and misfortune, and alternately experiencing pain or pleasure."

The pupil asks: "If a man commits something

which necessitates a retribution for him in a different shape from that in which he has committed the thing, and if between both stages there is a great interval of time and the matter is forgotten, what then?" The master answers: "It is the nature of action (*i.e.* karma) to adhere to the spirit, for action is its product, whilst the body is only an instrument for it. Forgetting does not apply to spiritual matters, for they lie outside of time, with the nature of which the notions of long and short duration are necessarily connected. Action, by adhering to the spirit, frames its nature and character into a condition similar to that one into which the soul will enter on its next migration. The soul in its purity knows this, thinks of it, and does not forget it; but the light of the soul is covered by the turbid nature of the body as long as it is connected with the body. Then the soul is like a man who remembers a thing which he once knew, but then forgot in consequence of insanity or an illness or some intoxication which overpowered his mind. Do you not observe that little children are in high spirits when people wish them a long long life, and are sorry when people imprecate upon them a speedy death? And what would the one thing or the other signify to them, if they had not tasted the sweetness of life and experienced the bitterness of death in former generations through which they had been migrating to undergo the due course of retribution?"

The Hindus call the world *lōka.* Its primary division consists of the upper, the low, and the middle.

The upper one is called *svargalōka, i. e.* paradise; the low, *nāgalōka, i. e.* the world of serpents, which is hell, and which is also called *naralōka,* and sometimes also *pātāla, i. e.* the lowest world. The middle world, the one in which we live, is called *madhyalōka* and *manushyalōka, i. e.* the world of men. In the latter, man has to earn his reward which he receives in the upper, whilst in the low he receives punishment. A man who deserves to come to *svargalōka* or *nāgalōka* there receives the full recompense of his deeds during a certain length of time corresponding to the duration of his deeds, but in either of these worlds there is only the soul, the soul free from the body.

For those who do not deserve to rise to heaven or to sink as low as hell, there is another world called *tiryaglōka,* the irrational world of plants and animals, through the individuals of which the soul has to wander in metempsychosis until it reaches the human being, rising by degrees from the lowest kinds of the vegetable world to the highest classes of the sensitive world. The stay of the soul in this world has one of the following causes: either the award which is due to the soul is not sufficient to raise it into heaven or to sink it into hell, or the soul is in its wanderings on the way back from hell; for they believe that a soul returning to the human world from heaven at once adopts a human body, whilst that one which returns there from hell has first to wander about in plants and animals before it reaches the degree of living in a human body.

The Hindus speak in their traditions of a large num-

ber of hells, describing their qualities and their names, and for each kind of sin they have a special hell. The number of hells is eighty-eight thousand according to the Vishnu Purana. We quote what this book says on the subject:—" The man who makes a false claim or bears false witness, he who helps these two, and he who ridicules people, come into the *Raurava* hell. He who sheds

THE TORMENTS OF HELL.
From an Indian edition of the Mahabharata.

innocent blood, who robs others of their rights and plunders them, and who kills cows, comes into *Rōdha.* Those also who strangle people come here. Whoso kills a Brahman, he who steals gold, princes who do not look after their subjects, and he who commits adultery with the family of his teacher, or who lies down with his mother-in-law, come into *Taptakumbha.* Whoso connives at the shame of his wife for greed, commits adultery with his sister or the wife of his son, sells his child, or is stingy toward himself with his property in order to save it, comes into *Mahājvāla.* Whoso is disrespect-

ful to his teacher and is not pleased with him, despises men, commits impurity with animals, contemns the Veda and Puranas, or tries to make gain by means of them in the markets, comes into *Sabala.*"

The same book continues its enumeration as follows: "A man who steals and commits tricks, who opposes the straight line of conduct of men, who hates his father, who does not like God and men, who does not honour the gems which God has made glorious and who considers them to be like other stones, comes into *Krimīsa.* Whoso does not honour the rights of parents and grandparents, and whoso does not do his duty toward the angels, and the maker of arrows and spear-points, come to *Lālābhaksha.* The maker of swords and knives comes to *Visasana.* He who conceals his property, being greedy for the presents of the rulers, and the Brahman who sells meat or oil or butter or sauce or wine, comes to *Adhōmukhā.* He who rears cocks and cats, small cattle, pigs, and birds, comes to *Rudhirāndha.*"

A further passage in the Vishnu Purana also says: "Public performers and singers in the markets, those who dig wells for drawing water, a man who cohabits with his wife on holy days, who throws fire into the houses of men, or betrays his companion and then receives him, being greedy for his property, come to *Rudhira.* He who takes the honey out of the bee-hive comes to *Vaitarani.* Whoso takes away by force the property and women of others in the intoxication of youth comes to *Krishna.* Whoso cuts down the trees

comes to *Asipatravana*. The hunter and the maker of snares and traps come to *Vahnijvāla*. He who neglects the customs and rules, and he who violates the laws—and he is the worst of all—come to *Sandamsaka*."

We have given this enumeration only in order to show what kinds of deeds the Hindus abhor as sins. Some Hindus believe that the middle world, the one for earning rewards, is the human world, and that a man wanders about in it because he has received a reward which does not lead him into heaven, but at the same time saves him from hell. They consider heaven as a higher stage, where a man lives in a state of bliss which must be of a certain duration on account of the good deeds he has done. On the contrary, they consider the wandering about in plants and animals as a lower stage, where a man dwells for punishment for a certain length of time, which is thought to correspond to the wretched deeds he has done. People who hold this view do not know of any hell but this kind of degradation below the degree of living as a human being.

All these degrees of retribution are necessary for the reason that the seeking for salvation from the fetters of matter frequently does not proceed on the straight line which leads to absolute knowledge, but on lines chosen by guessing or chosen because others have chosen them. Not one action of man shall be lost, not even the least of all; it shall be brought to his account after his good and bad actions have been balanced against each other. The retribution, however, is not according to the deed, but according to the intention

which a man had in doing it; and a man will receive his reward either in the form in which he now lives on

A GROUP OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE SHADE OF PALM-TREES.

earth, or in that form into which his soul will migrate, or in a kind of intermediary state after he has left his present shape and has not yet entered a new one.

Here, now, the Hindus quit the path of philosophical speculation and turn aside to traditional fables as regards the two places where reward or punishment is given, saying, for instance, that man exists as an incorporeal being in the world beyond the present, and that, after having received the reward of his actions, he again returns to a bodily appearance and human shape in order to be prepared for his further destiny. Some, therefore, do not consider the reward of paradise a special gain, because it has an end and is not eternal, and because this kind of life resembles the life of this our world; for it is not free from ambition and envy, having in itself various degrees and classes of existence, whilst cupidity and desire do not cease save where there is perfect equality.

We have already said that, according to the belief of the Hindus, the soul exists in these two places without a body. But this is only the view of the educated among them, who understand by the soul an independent being. However, the lower classes, and those who cannot imagine the existence of the soul without a body, hold very different views concerning this subject.

One is this, that the cause of the agony of death is the soul's waiting for a shape which is to be prepared. It does not quit the body before a cognate being of similar functions has originated, one of those which nature prepares either as an embryo in a mother's womb or as a seed in the bosom of the earth. Then the soul quits the body in which it has been staying.

Others hold the more traditional view that the soul does not wait for such a thing, but that it quits its shape on account of its weakness while another body has been prepared for it out of the elements. This body is called *ativahika*, " that which grows in haste," because it does not come into existence by being born. The soul stays in this body a complete year in the greatest agony, no matter whether it has deserved to be rewarded or to be punished. For this reason the heir of the deceased must, according to Hindu usage, fulfil the rites of the year for the deceased, duties which end with the end of the year, for then the soul goes to that place which is prepared for it.

It is well known that the popular mind leans toward the sensible world and has an aversion to the world of abstract thought, which is understood only by highly educated people, of whom there are but few in any time and any place. And as common people will acquiesce only in pictorial representations, many of the leaders of religious communities have so far deviated from the right path as to give such imagery place in their books and houses of worship. These words of mine would at once receive a sufficient illustration if a picture were made of the Prophet, for example, or of Mecca and the Ka'ba, and were shown to an uneducated man or woman. Their joy in looking at the thing would bring them to kiss the picture, to rub their cheeks against it, and to roll themselves in the dust before it, as if they were seeing not the picture, but the original, and were performing the rites of pilgrimage, the great

and small ones, as if they were present in the holy places.

This is the cause which leads to the manufacture of the idols, which are originally monuments in honour of certain much venerated persons, prophets, sages, and angels, destined to keep alive their memory when they are absent or dead, and to create for them a lasting

AN INSCRIBED BUDDHIST SCULPTURE FROM HASHTNAGAR, DATED 384 A. D.

place of grateful veneration in the hearts of men when they die. But when much time passes by after the setting up of the monument, its origin is forgotten, it becomes a matter of custom, and its veneration is developed into a rule for general practice. This being deeply rooted in the nature of man, the legislators of antiquity tried to influence them from this weak point of theirs. Therefore they made the veneration of pictures and similar monuments obligatory on them, as is recounted in historic records, for the times both before and after

the Deluge. Some people even pretend to know that all mankind were one large idolatrous body before God sent them his prophets.

Among the famous idols of Hindustan was that of Multan, dedicated to the sun, and therefore called Aditya. It was of wood covered with red Cordovan leather and in its two eyes were two red rubies. It is said to have been made over two hundred thousand years ago. When Mohammad ibn Kasim ibn al-Munabbi conquered Multan, he inquired how the town had become so very flourishing and how so many treasures had there been accumulated, and then he found out that this idol was the cause, for pilgrims came from all sides to visit it. Therefore he thought it best to have the idol where it was, but he hung a piece of cow's flesh on its neck by way of mockery. On the same place a mosque was built. When the Karmathians occupied Multan, Jalam ibn Shaiban, the usurper, broke the idol into pieces and killed its priests. The city of Thaneswar is highly venerated by the Hindus. The idol of that place is called Cakrasvamin, "the owner of the discus." It is of bronze and is nearly the size of a man. It is now lying in the hippodrome in Ghazni, together with another idol of vile form. This Cakrasvamin is said to have been made in the time of Bharata as a memorial of wars connected with his name. In Inner Kashmir, about two or three days' journey from the capital toward the mountains of Bolor, there is a wooden idol called Sarada, which is much venerated and frequented by pilgrims.

We shall now communicate a whole chapter from the Brihat-Samhita of Varahamihira relating to the construction of idols, which will help the student thoroughly to comprehend the present subject. This authority says: "If the figure is made to represent Rama the son of Dasaratha, or Bali the son of Virocana, give

THE MARTANDA TEMPLE OF THE SUN IN KASHMIR.

it the height of one hundred and twenty digits," *i. e.* of idol digits, which must be reduced by one-tenth to become common digits, in this case one hundred and eight. To the idol of Vishnu give eight hands, or four, or two, and on the left side under the breast give him the figure of the woman Sri. If you give him eight hands, place in the right hands a sword, a club of gold or iron, and an arrow, and make the fourth hand as

if it were drawing water; in the left hands give him a shield, a bow, a discus, and a conch. If you give him four hands, omit the bow and the arrow, the sword and the shield. If you give him two hands, let the right hand be drawing water, the left holding a conch. If the figure is to represent Baladeva, the brother of Narayana, put earrings into his ears and give him the eyes of a drunken man.

"If you make both figures, Narayana and Baladeva, join with them their sister Bhagavati, the wife of Siva, her left hand resting on her hip a little way from her side, and her right hand holding a lotus. If you make her four-handed, place in the right hands a rosary and a hand drawing water; in the left hands, a book and a lotus. If you make her eight-handed, place in the left hands a pot, a lotus, a bow, and a book; in the right hands, a rosary, a mirror, an arrow, and a water-drawing hand. If the figure is to represent Samba, the son of Vishnu, put only a club in his right hand. If it is to represent Pradyumna, the son of Vishnu, place in his right hand an arrow, in his left hand a bow. And if you make their two wives, place in their right hands a sword, in the left a buckler.

"The idol of Brahma has four faces toward the four sides, and is seated on a lotus. The idol of Skanda, the son of Mahadeva, is a boy riding on a peacock, his hand holding a *sakti*, a weapon like a double-edged sword, which has in the middle a pestle like that of a mortar. The idol Indra holds in its hand a diamond

weapon called *vajra.* It has a handle similar to the *sakti,* but on each side it has two swords which join at the handle. On his front place a third eye, and make him ride on a white elephant with four tusks. Likewise, make on the front of the idol of Mahadeva a third eye right above, on his head a crescent, in his hand a sword and a weapon called *sūla,* similar to the club but with three branches; and let his left hand hold his wife Gauri, the daughter of Himavant (the Himalayas), whom he presses to his bosom from the side.

THE GOD SKANDA, ALSO CALLED KARTIKEYA.

"To the idol Jina (Buddha) give a face and limbs as beautiful as possible; make the lines in the palms of his hands and feet like a lotus; represent him seated on a lotus; give him gray hair; and portray him with a placid expression, as if he were the father of creation. If you make Arhant, the figure of another aspect of Buddha, represent him as a naked youth with a fine face and with beautiful hands reaching down to his knees, and with the figure of Sri, his wife, under his left breast. The idol of Revanta, the son of the sun, rides on a horse like a huntsman. The idol of Yama, the angel of death, rides on a buffalo and holds a club in his hand. The idol of Kubera, the treasurer, wears a crown, has a big stomach and wide hips, and rides on a man. The idol of the Sun has a red face like the pith of the red lotus, beams like a diamond, protruding

limbs, rings in the ears, the neck adorned with pearls which hang down over the breast, a crown of several compartments, two lotuses in the hands, and the dress of the Northerners which reaches down to the ankle.

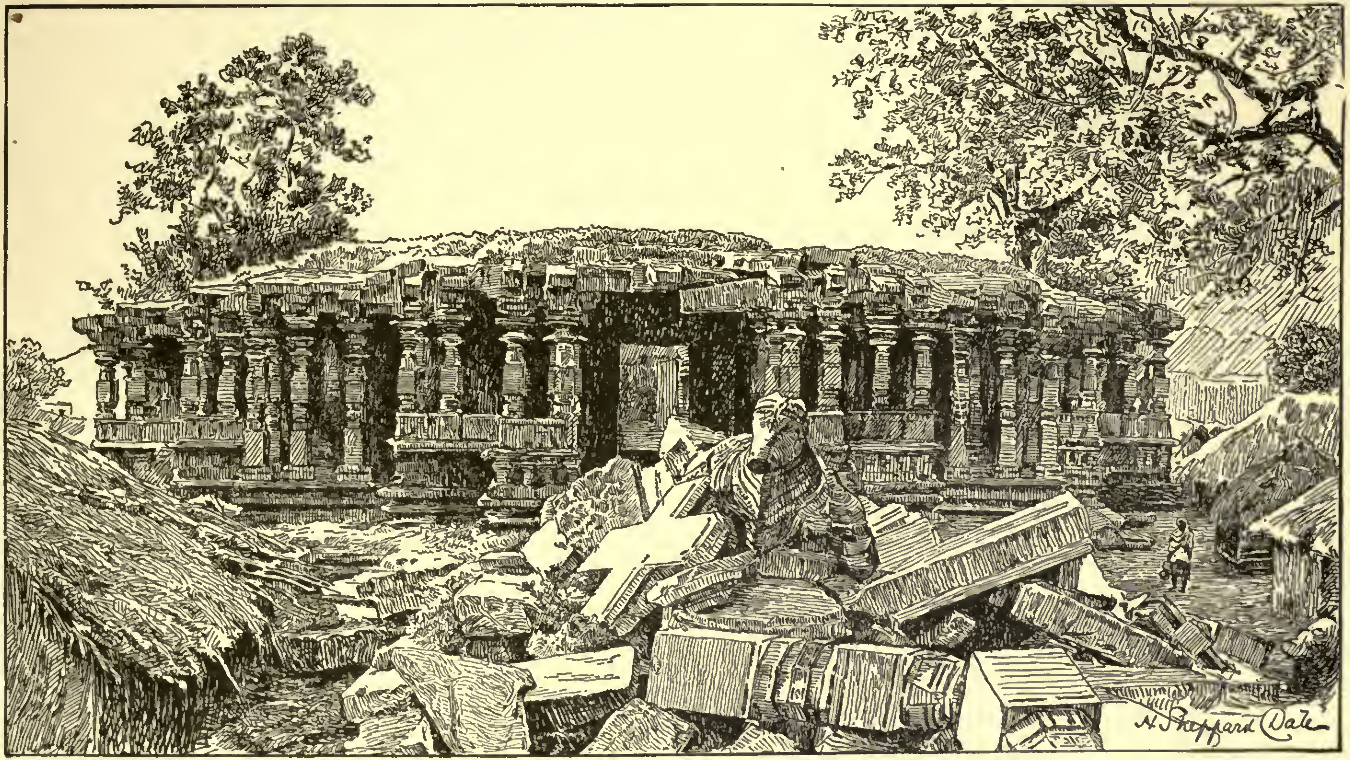
"If you represent the Seven Mothers, group several of them together in one figure, Brahmani with four faces toward the four directions, Kaumari with six faces, Vaishnavi with four hands, Varahi with a hog's head on a human body, Indrani with many eyes and a club in her hand, Bhagavati sitting as people generally sit, and Camunda ugly, with protruding teeth and a slim waist. Furthermore, join with them the sons of Mahadeva, Kshetrapala with bristling hair, a sour face, and an ugly figure, and Vinayaka with an elephant's head on a human body with four hands."

The worshippers of these idols kill sheep and buffaloes with axes, that they may nourish themselves with their blood. All idols are constructed according to certain measures determined by "idol-digits" for every single limb, but sometimes they differ regarding the measure of a limb. If the artist keeps the right measure and does not make anything too large nor too small, he is free from sin, and is sure that the being which he represents will not visit him with any mishap. "If," Varahamihira continues, however, "he makes the idol one cubit high, or two cubits together with the throne, he will obtain health and wealth. If he makes it higher still, he will be praised. But he must know that making the idol too large, especially that of

the Sun, will hurt the ruler, and making it too small will hurt the artist. If he gives it a thin belly, this helps and furthers famine in the country; if he gives it a lean belly, this ruins property. If the hand of the artist slips so as to produce something like a wound, he will have a wound in his own body which will kill him. If the idol is not completely even on both sides, so that one shoulder is higher than the other, his wife will perish. If the artist turns the eye upward, he will be blind for life; if he turns it downward, he will have many troubles and sorrows."

If the statue is made of some precious stone, it is better than if it is made of wood, and wood is better than clay. The Brihat-Samhita accordingly says: "The benefits of a statue of precious stone will be common to all the men and women of the empire. A golden statue will bring power to him who erects it, a statue of silver will bring him renown, one of bronze will bring him an increase of his rule, and one of stone the acquisition of landed property."

The Hindus honour their idols on account of those who erect them, not on account of the material of which they are made. We have already mentioned that the idol of Multan was of wood. In like manner, the idol which Rama erected when he had finished the war with the demons was of sand, which he had heaped up with his own hand. But since the astrologically correct moment for the erecting of the monument fell before the moment when the workmen had finished the cutting of the stone monument which Rama had originally



RUINS OF A TEMPLE TO HANUMAN, RAMA'S ALLY, IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

ordered, the figure became petrified all at once. Rama likewise gave very minute instructions regarding the building of the temple and its peristyle, the cutting of the trees of four different kinds, the astrological determination of the favourable moment for the erection of the shrine, and the celebration of the rites due on such an occasion. Furthermore, he ordered that servants and priests should be nominated from different classes of the people to minister to the idols. "To the idol of Vishnu are devoted the class called Bhagavata; to the idol of the Sun, the Maga; to the idol of Mahadeva (Siva), a class of saints, anchorites with long hair, who cover their skin with ashes, hang bones of dead people on their persons, and swim in the pools. The Brahmans are devoted to the Eight Mothers, the Shamanians (Buddhists) to Buddha, and the class called Nagna (*i. e.* the naked Jains) to the Arhant. On the whole, to each idol are devoted certain people who constructed it, for they best know how to serve it." Our object in mentioning all this is to teach the reader the accurate description of an idol, if he happens to see one, and to illustrate what we have said before, that such idols are erected only for uneducated low-class people of little understanding; for the Hindus never made an idol of any supernatural being, much less of God.'

Al-Biruni in a later chapter, the seventy-third, describes the various ways in which the bodies of the dead were disposed of in India and elsewhere, and he mentions certain ideas associated with these rites. The

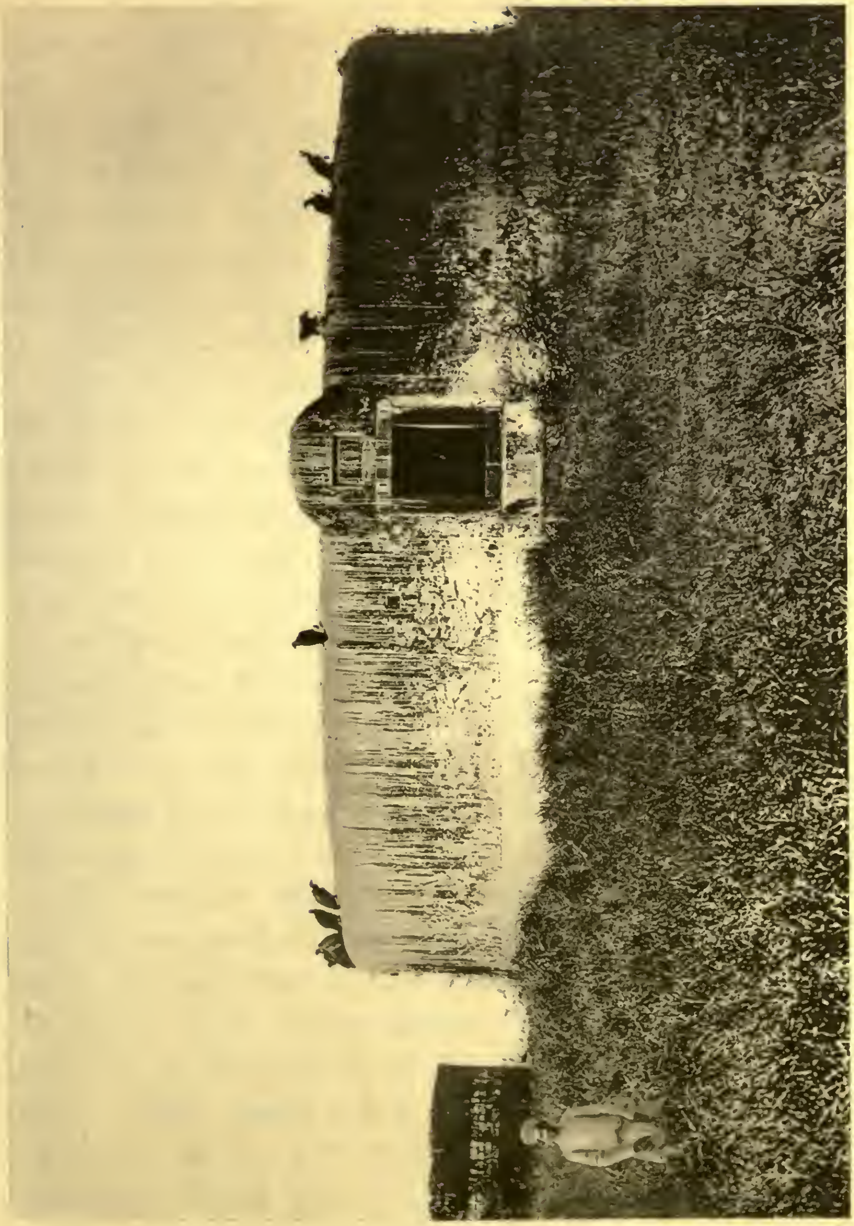
section is inserted here on account of its direct connection with what has gone before in this and in the preceding chapter.

'In the most ancient times in India the bodies of the dead were exposed to the air by being thrown on the fields without any covering; sick people also were exposed on the fields and in the mountains, and were left there. If they died there, they had the fate just mentioned; but if they recovered, they returned to their dwellings. Thereupon there appeared a legislator who ordered people to expose their dead to the wind. In consequence, they constructed roofed buildings with walls of rails, through which the wind blew, passing over the dead, something like the grave towers of the Zoroastrians. After the Hindus had practised this custom for a long time, Narayana bade them hand the dead over to the fire, and ever since they have been in the habit of burning them, so that nothing remains of them, and every defilement, dirt, and smell is annihilated at once, so as to leave scarcely a trace behind.

Nowadays the Slavonians, too, burn their dead, whilst the ancient Greeks seem to have had both customs, that of burning and that of burying. To the former method Galen makes a distinct allusion in his commentary to the apothegms of Hippokrates where he says: "It is generally known that Asklepios was raised to the angels in a column of fire, the like of which is also related of Dionysos, Herakles, and others, who laboured for the benefit of mankind. People say that God did thus with them in order to destroy the mortal

A Zoroastrian Dakhmah, or Tower of Silence

The Zoroastrians are forbidden by their religion to burn or bury their dead, or to consign them to the rivers, lest the sacred elements, fire, earth, and water, should in any way be defiled. Their sacred books enjoin upon them to expose corpses upon a "dakhmah," or Tower of Silence, to be devoured by the fowls of the air. The bones denuded of the flesh soon crumble into dust beneath the parching tropical sun. At Bombay these vulture-haunted towers stand in a beautiful garden of waving palms on Malabar Hill, overlooking the city.



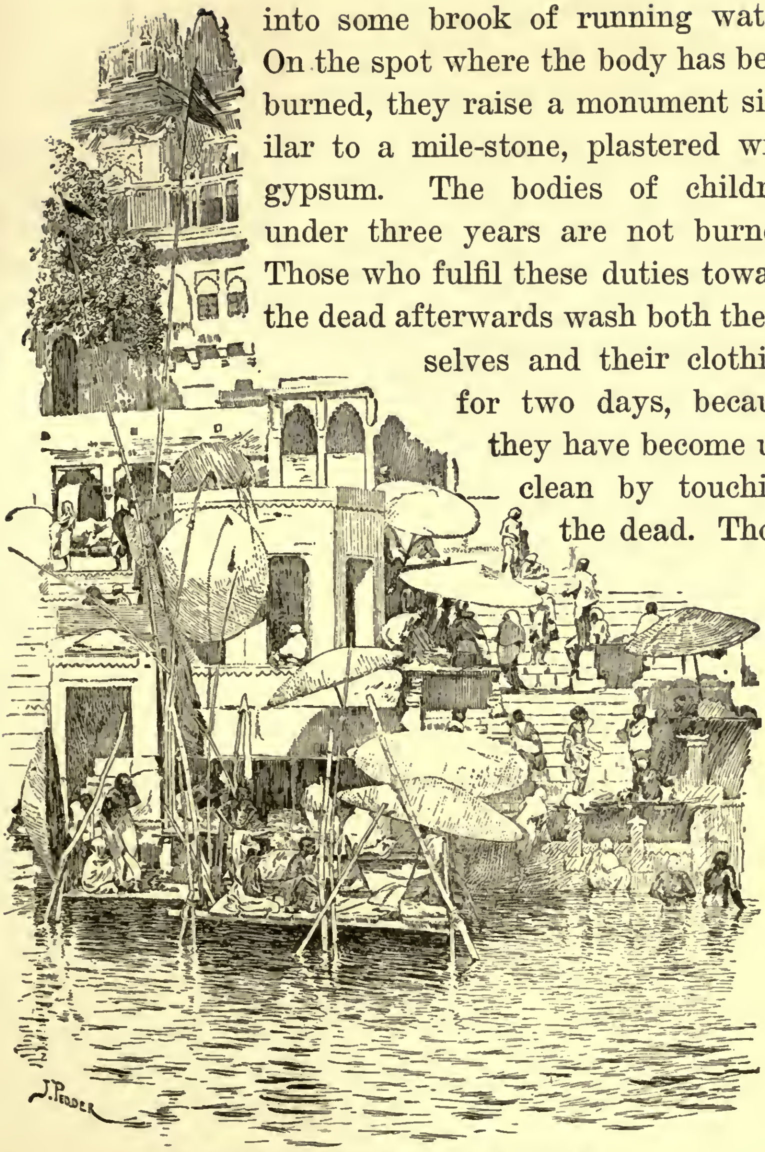
and earthly part of them by fire, and afterwards to attract to himself the immortal part of them, and to raise their souls to heaven." In these words there is a reference to burning as a Greek custom, but it seems to have been in use only for the great men among them. The Hindus express themselves in a similar way. There is a point in man by which he is what he is. This point becomes free when the mixed elements of the body are dissolved and scattered by combustion.

Regarding the return of the immortal soul to God, the Hindus think that it is effected partly by the rays of the sun, the soul attaching itself to them and ascending with them, and partly by the flame of the fire, which raises it to God. Some Hindus used to pray that God would make his road to himself as a straight line, because this is the nearest road, and there is no other road upwards save the fire or the ray. Similar to this is the practice of the Ghuzz Turks with reference to a drowned person; for they place the body on a bier in the river, and make a cord hang down from the foot of the corpse, throwing the end of the cord into the water. By means of this cord the spirit of the deceased is to raise himself for resurrection. The belief of the Hindus on this head was confirmed by the words of Vasudeva, which he spoke in the Bhagavadgita regarding the sign of him who is liberated from the fetters of bodily existence. "His death takes place during the northern revolution of the sun from the winter solstice to the summer solstice, and during the white half of the month, between lighted lamps, that is to say between

conjunction and opposition (new moon and full moon), in the seasons of winter and spring." A similar view is recognized in the following words of Mani: "Other religious bodies blame us because we worship the sun and moon, and represent them as an image. But they do not know their real nature; they do not know that the sun and moon are our path, and the door whence we march forth into the world of our existence into heaven, as has been declared by Jesus." So he maintains. People relate that Buddha ordered the bodies of the dead to be thrown into flowing water. Therefore his followers, the Shamanians, throw their dead into the rivers.

SURYA, THE HINDU SUN-GOD.
From Moor's Hindu Pantheon.

According to the Hindus, the body of the dead has the claim upon his heirs that they are to wash and embalm it, wrap it in a shroud, and then burn it with as much sandal and other wood as they can get. Part of the burned bones are brought to the Ganges and thrown into it, that the Ganges may flow over them as it flowed over the burned bones of the children of Sagara, thereby releasing them from hell and bringing them to paradise. The remainder of the ashes is thrown



ON THE BANKS OF THE GANGES IN BENARES.

into some brook of running water. On the spot where the body has been burned, they raise a monument similar to a mile-stone, plastered with gypsum. The bodies of children under three years are not burned. Those who fulfil these duties toward the dead afterwards wash both themselves and their clothing for two days, because they have become unclean by touching the dead. Those who cannot afford to burn their dead throw them either somewhere on the open field or into running water.

Now as regards the right of the body of the living, the Hindus would not think of burning it save in the case of a widow who chooses to follow her husband, or in the case of those who are tired of life, and are distressed over some incurable disease of body, some irremovable bodily defect, or old age and infirmity. This, however, no man of distinction does, but only Vaisyas and Sudras, especially at those times which are prized as the most suitable for a man to acquire in them, for a future repetition of life, a better form and condition than that in which he happens to have been born and to live.

Burning oneself is forbidden to Brahmans and to Kshatriyas by a special law. Such being the case, if they wish to dispose of themselves by committing suicide, they do so at the time of an eclipse in some other manner, or they hire somebody to drown them in the Ganges, keeping them under water till they are dead.

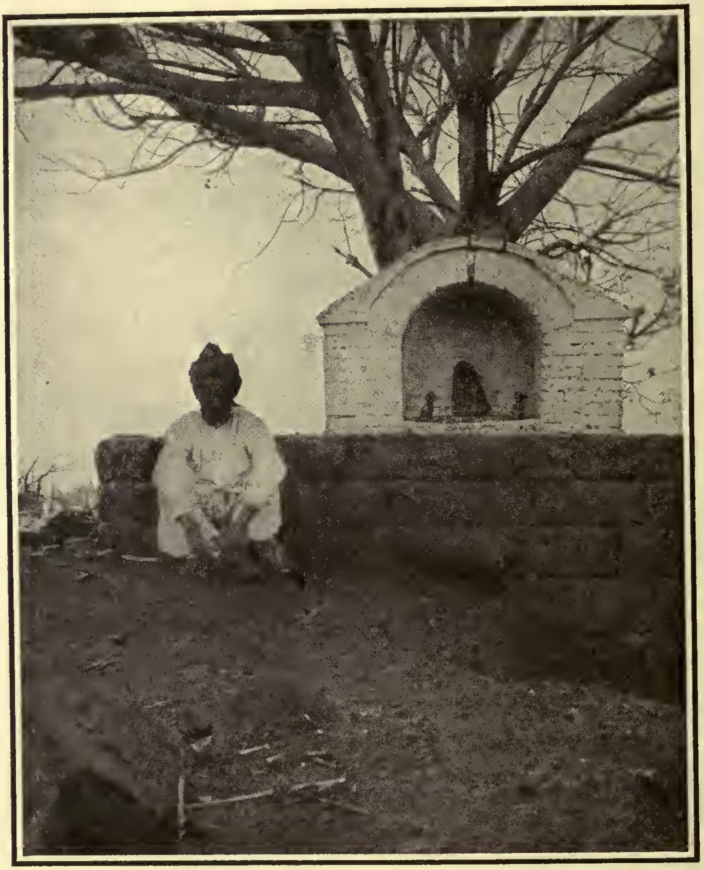
At the junction of the two rivers Yamuna (Jumna) and Ganges there is a great tree called Prayaga, a tree of the species called Vata (?). It is peculiar to this kind of tree that its branches send forth two species of twigs, some directed upwards, as is the case with all other trees, and others directed downward like roots, but without leaves. If such a twig enters into the soil, it is like a supporting column to the branch whence it has grown. Nature has arranged this on purpose, since the branches of this tree are of an enormous extent and require to be supported. Here the Brahmans and Kshatriyas are in the habit of committing suicide by

climbing up the tree and throwing themselves into the Ganges.'

There is space for a single other citation from al-Biruni in connection with the religion of the Hindus; it is taken from his sixty-sixth chapter, in which he treats of Hindu pilgrimages and of the visits which they pay to certain sacred places as a part of their religious duty.

'Pilgrimages are not obligatory upon the Hindus, although they are facultative and meritorious. A man sets off to wander to some holy region, to some much venerated idol, or to some of the holy rivers. He worships in them, adores the idol, makes presents to it, recites many hymns and prayers, fasts, and gives alms to the Brahmans, the priests, and others. He shaves the hair of his head and beard, and returns home. The much venerated holy ponds are in the cold mountains round Meru. The following information regarding them is found in both the Vayu and the Matsya Puranas: "At the foot of Meru is Arhata, a very great pond, described as shining like the moon. In it originates the river Zanba (Jambu ?), which is very pure, flowing over the purest gold. Near the mountain Sveta is the pond Uttaramanasa, and around it twelve other ponds, each of them like a lake. Thence come two rivers which flow to Kimpurusha. Near the mountain Nila is a pond adorned with lotuses. Near the mountain Nishada is the pond Vishnupada, whence comes the river Sarasvati (Sarsuti). Besides, the river Gandharvi comes from there. In the mountain Kailasa is

the pond Manda, as large as a sea, whence comes the river Mandakini. Northeast of Kailasa is the mountain Chandraparvata, and at its foot the pond whence comes



A SHRINE OF NARSIMHA IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

the river Acud. Southeast of Kailasa is the mountain Lohita, and at its foot a pond called Lohita. Thence comes the river Lohitanadi. South of Kailasa is the mountain Sarayusati, and at its foot the pond Manasa. Thence comes the river Sarayu. West of Kailasa is

the mountain Aruna, always covered with snow, which cannot be ascended. At its foot is the pond Sailoda, whence comes the river Sailoda. North of Kailasa is the mountain Gaura with the pond of golden sand at its foot.

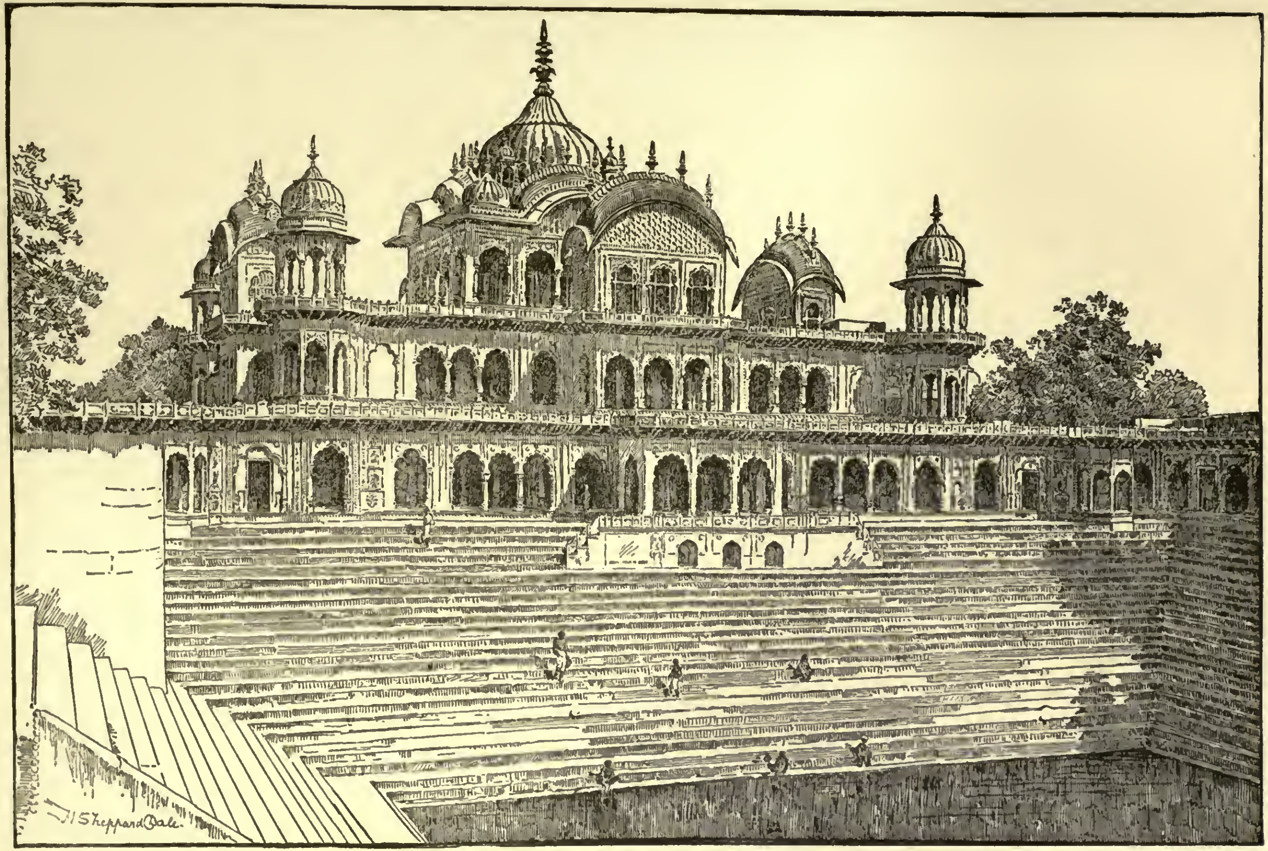
"Near this pond King Bhagiratha led his anchorite life. His story is as follows: A king of the Hindus called Sagara had sixty thousand sons, all of them bad, mean fellows. Once they happened to lose a horse. They searched for it at once, and in searching they continually ran about so violently that the surface of the earth broke in. They found the horse in the interior of the earth, standing before a man who was looking down with deep-sunken eyes. When they came near him, he smote them with his look, in consequence of which they were burned on the spot and went to hell on account of their wicked actions. The collapsed part of the earth became a sea, the great ocean. A king of the descendants of that king, called Bhagiratha, on hearing the history of his ancestors, was much affected thereby. He went to the above-mentioned pond, the bottom of which was polished gold, and stayed there, fasting all day and worshipping during the night. Finally, Mahadeva (Siva) asked him what he wanted; whereupon he answered: 'I want the river Ganges which flows in Paradise,' knowing that the sins of him over whom its water flows are pardoned. Mahadeva granted him his desire. However, the Milky Way was the bed of the Ganges, and the Ganges was very haughty, for nobody had ever been able to stand against

it. Now Mahadeva took the Ganges and put it on his head. When the Ganges could not move away, it became very angry and made a great uproar. However, Mahadeva held it firmly, so that it was not possible for anybody to plunge into it. Then he took part of the Ganges and gave it to Bhagiratha, and this king

A SACRED LAKE IN INDIA.

made the middle one of its seven branches flow over the bones of his ancestors, whereby they became liberated from punishment. Therefore the Hindus throw the burned bones of their dead into the Ganges. The Ganges was also called Bhagiratha, after the name of that king who brought it to earth."

In every place to which some particular holiness is ascribed, the Hindus construct ponds intended for



TANK AT THE CENOTAPH OF SURAJ MAL.

their ablutions. In this they have attained a very high degree of art, so that Mohammedans, when they see them, wonder at them, and are unable to describe them, much less to construct anything like them. They build them of great stones of an enormous bulk, joined to each other by sharp and strong cramp-irons, in the form of steps or terraces, like so many ledges; and these terraces run all around the pond, reaching to a height of more than a man's stature. On the surface of the stones between two terraces they construct staircases rising like pinnacles. Thus the first steps or terraces are like roads leading round the pond, and the pinnacles are steps leading up and down. If ever so many people descend to the pond whilst others ascend, they do not meet each other, and the road is never blocked up, because there are so many terraces, and the ascending person can always turn aside to another terrace than that on which the descending people go. By this arrangement all troublesome thronging is avoided.

In Multan there is a pond which the Hindus worship by bathing themselves, if they are not prevented. The Brihat-Samhita of Varahamihira relates that in Thanesar there is a pond which the Hindus visit from afar to bathe in its water. Regarding the cause of this custom, they say that the waters of all the other holy ponds visit this particular pond at the time of an eclipse. Therefore, if a man washes in it, it is as if he had washed in every single one of all of them. Then Varahamihira continues: "People say that if it were not

the head which causes the eclipse of sun and moon, the other ponds would not visit this pond."

The ponds become particularly famous for holiness either because some important event has happened at them, or because there is some passage in the holy text or tradition which refers to them; and the Hindus have some places which are venerated for reasons connected with their law and religion, such as Baranasi (Benares), for their anchorites wander to it and stay there for ever, as the dwellers of the Ka'ba stay for ever in Mecca. They want to live there to the end of their lives, that their reward after death may be the better for it.

They say that a murderer is always held responsible for his crime and punished with a punishment due to his guilt, except in case he enters the city of Benares, where he obtains pardon. Regarding the cause of the holiness of this asylum they relate the following story: "Brahma was four-headed in shape. Now some quarrel happened between him and Sankara (Siva), and the fight which ensued had the result that one of the heads of Brahma was torn off. At that time it was the custom for the victor to take the head of the slain adversary in his hand and let it hang down from his hand as an act of ignominy to the dead and as a sign of his own bravery. Thus the head of Brahma was dishonoured by the hand of Mahadeva, who always took it with him wherever he went and whatever he did. He never once separated himself from it when he entered the towns, till at last he came to Benares.

After he had entered Benares the head dropped from his hand and disappeared."

A similar place is Pukara, the story of which is this: Brahma was once occupied there in offering to the fire, when a pig came out of the fire. Therefore they represent his image there as that of a pig. Outside the town, in three places, they have constructed ponds which stand in high veneration, and are places of worship. Another place of the kind is Thanesar, which is also called Kurukshetra, or "the land of Kuru," who was a pious, holy peasant, and worked miracles by divine power. Therefore the country was called after him, and venerated for his sake. Besides, Thanesar is the theatre of the exploits of Vasudeva in the wars of the Mahabharata and of the destruction of the evil-doers. It is for this reason that people visit the place. Mathura, too, is a holy place, crowded with Brahmans. It is venerated because Vasudeva was born and brought up there, in a place in the neighbourhood called Nandagola. Nowadays the Hindus also visit Kashmir, and lastly they used to visit Multan before its idol-temple was destroyed.'

SCULPTURED LIONS AT SARNATH NEAR BENARES.

CHAPTER V

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TEMPLE OF SOMNATH BY THE PERSIAN GEOGRAPHER KAZVINI

About 1263 A. D.

THE famous temple at Somnath, with its celebrated idol which was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni, "the Image-Breaker," when he sacked the city in 1025-1026 A. D., has been alluded to several times in the Mohammedan section of this History. An account of the wonders of the temple and the optical delusion in connection with the idol is given by the Persian geographer Zakariyah Kazvini, who wrote, however, in Arabic, about the year 1263 A. D. Kazvini, though not a traveller himself, drew upon the works of travellers for his geographical materials, and he gives the following interesting account of the famous Somnath shrine, over whose destruction, two centuries before, he rejoices with the Moslem joy that hailed the downfall of a house of idols.

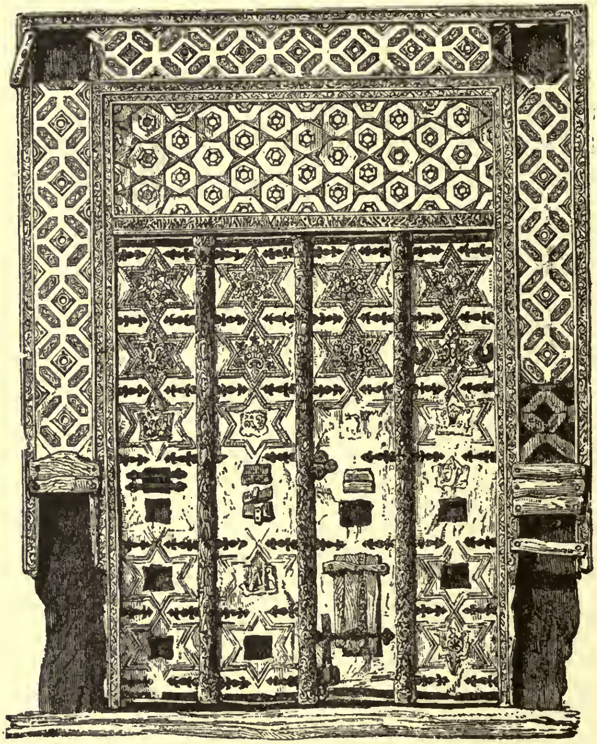
'Somnath is a celebrated city of India, situated on the shore of the sea and washed by its waves. Among

the wonders of the place was the temple in which was placed the idol called Somnath. This idol was in the middle of the temple without anything to support it from below, or to suspend it from above. It was regarded with great veneration by the Hindus, and whoever beheld it floating in the air was struck with amazement, whether he was a Mussulman or an infidel. The Hindus used to go on pilgrimage to it whenever there was an eclipse of the moon, and would then assemble there to the number of more than a hundred thousand. They believed that the souls of men used to meet there after separation from the body, and that the idol used, at its pleasure, to incorporate them in other bodies, in accordance with their doctrine of transmigration. The ebb and flow of the tide was considered to be the worship paid to the idol by the sea.

Everything that was most precious was brought there as offerings, and the temple was endowed with the taxes gathered from more than ten thousand villages. There is a river, the Ganges, which is held sacred, between which and Somnath the distance is two hundred parasangs. They used to bring the water of this river to Somnath every day, and wash the temple with it. A thousand Brahmans were employed in worshipping the idol and attending on the visitors, and five hundred damsels sang and danced at the door—all these were maintained upon the endowments of the temple. The edifice was built upon fifty-six pillars of teak, covered with lead. The shrine of the idol was dark, but was lighted by jewelled chandeliers of great value. Near

it was a chain of gold weighing two hundred *mans.* When a portion, or watch, of the night closed, this chain used to be shaken like bells to rouse a fresh lot of Brahmans to perform worship.

When Sultan Mahmud, the son of Sabuktagin, went



THE SO-CALLED GATES OF SOMNATH.

to wage religious war against India, he made great efforts to capture and destroy Somnath, in the hope that the Hindus would then become Mohammedans. He arrived there in the middle of Zu-l-ka'da, 416 A. H. (December, 1025 A. D.). The Indians made a desperate resistance. They kept going in to the temple weeping

and crying for help, and then they issued forth to battle and kept fighting till all were killed. The number of the slain exceeded fifty thousand. The king looked upon the idol with wonder, and gave orders for the seizing of the spoil and the appropriation of the treasures. There were many idols of gold and silver, and countless vessels set with jewels, all of which had been sent there by the greatest personages in India. The value of the things found in the temples of the idols exceeded twenty thousand thousand dinars.

When the king asked his companions what they had to say about the marvel of the idol, and of its staying in the air without prop or support, several maintained that it was upheld by some hidden support. The king directed a person to go and feel all around and above and below it with a spear, which he did, but met with no obstacle. One of the attendants then stated his opinion that the canopy was made of loadstone, and the idol of iron, and that the ingenious builder had skilfully contrived that the magnet should not exercise a greater force on any one side—hence the idol was suspended in the middle. Some inclined toward this explanation, others differed from it. Permission was obtained from the Sultan to remove some stones from the top of the canopy to settle the point. When two stones were removed from the summit, the idol swerved on one side; when more were taken away, it inclined still further, until at last it rested on the ground.'

By way of supplement there is here appended a description of the Somnath idol by the Persian traveller

al-Istakhri, who journeyed through India and other Mohammedan countries in the first half of the tenth century. His note is as follows:—

'The idol has a human shape and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible. Some believe that the body is made of wood, some deny this; but the body is not allowed to be uncovered to decide this point. The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. It sits in a quadrangular position on the throne, its hands resting upon its knees, with the fingers closed, so that only four can be counted.'

CHAPTER VI

THE PORTUGUESE NAVIGATOR VASCO DA GAMA AT CALICUT AND HIS RECEPTION BY THE ZAMORIN

1498 A. D.

THE voyage which the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama made to India at the close of the fifteenth century has frequently been mentioned in the preceding volumes, especially in the sixth; a brief selection from the contemporary accounts of it may therefore be welcomed here. This celebrated voyager, whom King Manuel of Portugal commissioned with the command of a Portuguese fleet for an expedition to the East, set sail from Lisbon in the summer of 1497, and after rounding the Cape of Good Hope, arrived on May 20, 1498, at Calicut in Malabar, on the southeast coast of India. Through the favour of the Zamorin, or native ruler of the place, he was able to establish, between the Indian states and his own country, a series of friendly relations for trade and commerce, which proved of the greatest importance to Portugal. His first visit to the city of Calicut and his reception at the Zamorin's court are well described in the "Roteiro," a journal of Vasco da Gama's voyage written by a member of the expedition, although the precise authorship of this Portuguese

diary has not yet been determined. The brief extract here given is supplemented by an account of the voyager's reception written by Gaspar Correa, who was not with the expedition, although he came to India fifteen years later and claims to have used the diary of Figueiro, a Portuguese priest who accompanied Da Gama's fleet. Correa's "Lendas da India" is not generally held in high esteem by historians, although the author's many years of life in India would particularly qualify him to describe the manners at the Zamorin's court. The "Roteiro," or Journal, on the contrary, as is emphasized by Ravenstein in his translation for the Hakluyt Society, has the highest value, and from it the following description of the visit at Calicut is taken.

DOM VASCO DA GAMA.
After a Ms. portrait in the British Museum.

'The city of Calicut is inhabited by Christians. They are of a tawny complexion. Some of them have big beards and long hair, whilst others clip their hair short or shave the head, merely allowing a tuft to re-

main on the crown as a sign that they are Christians. They also wear moustaches. They pierce the ears and wear much gold in them. They go naked down to the waist, covering their lower extremities with very fine cotton stuffs. But it is only the most respectable who do this, for the others manage as best they are able.

The women of this country, as a rule, are ugly and of small stature. They wear many jewels of gold round the neck, numerous bracelets on their arms, and rings set with precious stones on their toes. All these people are well-disposed and apparently of mild temper. At first sight they seem covetous and ignorant.

When we arrived at Calicut the king (the Zamorin) was fifteen leagues away. The captain-major (Vasco da Gama) sent two men to him with a message, informing him that an ambassador had arrived from the King of Portugal with letters, and that if he desired it he would take them to where the king then was. The king presented the bearers of this message with much fine cloth. He sent word to the captain bidding him welcome, saying that he was about to proceed to Calicut. As a matter of fact, he started at once with a large retinue.

A pilot accompanied our two men, with orders to take us to a place called Pandarani, below the place (Capua) where we anchored at first. At this time we were actually in front of the city of Calicut. We were told that the anchorage at the place to which we were to go was good, whilst at the place we were then it was bad, with a stony bottom, which was quite true; and,

moreover, that it was customary for the ships which came to this country to anchor there for the sake of safety. We ourselves did not feel comfortable, and the captain-major (Vasco da Gama) had no sooner received this royal message than he ordered the sails to be set, and we departed. We did not, however, anchor as near the shore as the king's pilot desired. When we were at anchor, a message arrived informing the captain-

A NATIVE VESSEL OF CALICUT.

major that the king was already in the city. At the same time the king sent a *bale* (Arabic *wālī*, "governor"), with other men of distinction, to Pandarani, to conduct the captain-major to where the king awaited him. The *bale* is like an *alcaide* (Portuguese *alcaide*, "governor"), and is always attended by two hundred men armed with swords and bucklers. As it was late when this message arrived, the captain-major deferred going.

On the following morning, which was Monday, May 28th (1498), the captain-major (Vasco da Gama) set

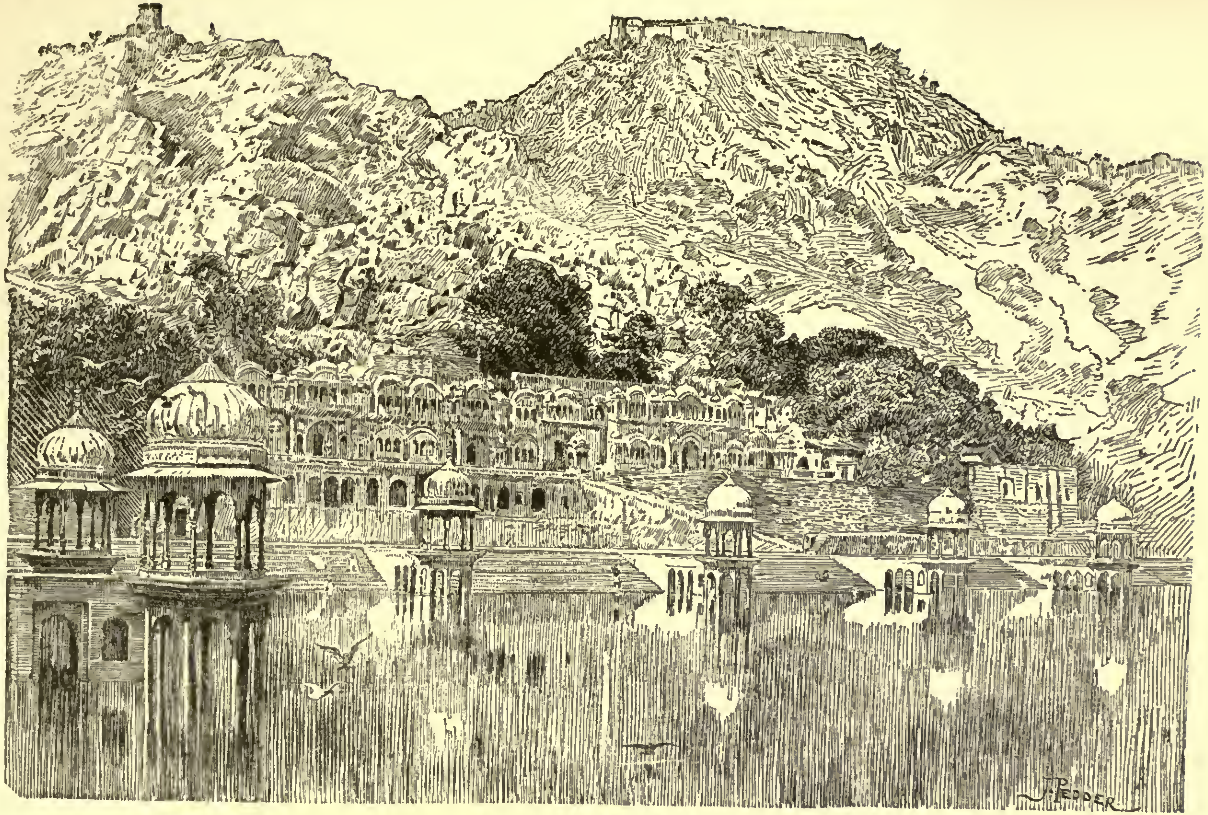
out to speak to the king, and took with him thirteen men, of whom I was one. We put on our best attire, placed bombards in our boats, and took with us trumpets and many flags. On landing, the captain-major was received by the *alcaide*, with whom were many men, armed and unarmed. The reception was friendly, as if the people were pleased to see us, though at first appearances they looked threatening, for they carried naked swords in their hands. A palanquin was provided for the captain-major, such as is used by men of distinction in that country, as also by some of the merchants, who pay something to the king for this privilege. The captain-major entered the palanquin, which was carried by six men by turns. Attended by all these people, we took the road of Calicut, and came first to another town, called Capua. The captain-major was there deposited at the house of a man of rank, whilst we others were provided with food, consisting of rice, with much butter, and excellent boiled fish. The captain-major did not wish to eat, and when we had done so, we embarked on a river close by, which flows between the sea and the mainland, close to the coast. The two boats in which we embarked were lashed together, so that we were not separated. There were numerous other boats, all crowded with people. As to those who were on the banks I say nothing; their number was infinite, and they had all come to see us. We went up that river for about a league, and saw many large ships drawn up high and dry on its banks, for there is no port here.

When we disembarked, the captain-major (Vasco da Gama) once more entered his palanquin. The road was crowded with a countless multitude anxious to see us. Even the women came out of their houses with children in their arms and followed us.

When we arrived (at Calicut) they took us to a large church (a Hindu temple), and this is what we saw:[1] The body of the church is as large as a monastery, all built of hewn stone and covered with tiles. At the main entrance rises a pillar of bronze as high as a mast, on the top of which was perched a bird, apparently a cock. In addition to this, there was another pillar as high as a man and very stout. In the centre of the body of the church rose a chapel, all built of hewn stone, with a bronze door sufficiently wide for a man to pass, and stone steps leading up to it. Within this sanctuary stood a small image which they said represented Our Lady. Along the walls, by the main entrance, hung seven small bells. In this church the captain-major said his prayers, and we with him.

We did not go within the chapel, for it is the custom that only certain servants of the church, called *quasees* (Arabic *kāzī*, "judge"), should enter. These *quasees* wore some threads passing over the left shoulder and under the right arm, in the same manner as our deacons wear the stole. They threw holy water over us, and

[1] The description of this so-called "church" gives a good picture of the typical Hindu temple, with its columns, shrines, carved images, and Brahman priests wearing the sacred cord, marked with the characteristic signs of their caste, and bowing before painted representations of the Indian pantheon.



THE POOL AT ULWAR.

gave us some white earth, which the Christians of this country are in the habit of putting on their foreheads, breasts, around the neck, and on the forearms. They threw holy water upon the captain-major and gave him some of the earth, which he gave in charge of some one, giving them to understand that he would put it on later. Many other saints are painted on the walls of the church, wearing crowns. They were painted variously, with teeth protruding an inch from the mouth, and four or five arms. Below this church there was a large masonry tank, similar to many others which we had seen along the road.

After we had left that place, and had arrived at the entrance to the city (of Calicut), we were shown another church (Hindu temple), where we saw things like those described above. Here the crowd grew so dense that progress along the street became next to impossible, and for this reason they put the captain (Vasco da Gama) into a house, and us with him. The king sent a brother of the *bale*, who was a lord of this country, to accompany the captain, and he was attended by men beating drums, blowing *anafils* and bagpipes, and firing off matchlocks. In conducting the captain they showed us much respect, more than is shown in Spain to a king.

The number of people was countless, for in addition to those who surrounded us, and among whom there were two thousand armed men, they crowded the roofs and houses.

The further we advanced in the direction of the

king's palace, the more did they increase in number. And when we arrived there, men of much distinction and great lords came out to meet the captain, and joined those who were already in attendance upon him. It was then an hour before sunset. When we reached the palace we passed through a gate into a courtyard of great size, and before we arrived at where the king was, we passed four doors, through which we had to force our way, giving many blows to the people. When, at last, we reached the door where the king was, there came forth from it a little old man, who holds a position resembling that of a bishop, and whose advice the king acts upon in all affairs of the church. This man embraced the captain when he entered the door. Several men were wounded at this door, and we got in only by the use of much force.

The king (Zamorin) was in a small court, reclining upon a couch covered with a cloth of green velvet, above which was a good mattress, and upon this again a sheet of cotton stuff, very white and fine, more so than any linen. The cushions were after the same fashion. In his left hand the king held a very large golden cup (spittoon), having a capacity of half an almude (eight pints). At its mouth this cup was two palmas (sixteen inches) wide, and apparently it was massive. Into this cup the king threw the husks of a certain herb which is chewed by the people of this country because of its soothing effects, and which they call *atambor* (Arabic *tambūr*, "betel-nut"). On the right side of the king stood a basin of gold, so large that a man might just

encircle it with his arms: this contained the herbs. There were likewise many silver jugs. The canopy above the couch was all gilt.

The captain (Vasco da Gama), on entering, saluted in the manner of the country; by putting the hands together, then raising them toward heaven, as is done by the Christians when addressing God, and immediately afterwards opening them and shutting the fists quickly. The king beckoned to the captain with his right hand to come nearer, but the captain did not approach him, for it is the custom of the country for no man to approach the king except only the servant who hands him the herbs, and when any one addresses the king he holds his hands before the mouth, and remains at a distance.

When the king beckoned to the captain he looked at us others, and ordered us to be seated on a stone bench near him, where he could see us. He ordered that water for our hands should be given us, also some fruit, one kind of which resembled a melon, except that its outside was rough and the inside sweet, whilst another kind of fruit resembled a fig, and tasted very nice. There were men who prepared these fruits for us; and the king looked at us eating, and smiled; and talked to the servant who stood near him supplying him with the herbs referred to.

Then, throwing his eyes on the captain (Vasco da Gama), who sat facing him, he invited him to address himself to the courtiers present, saying they were men of much distinction, that he could tell them whatever

he desired to say, and they would repeat it to him (the Zamorin). The captain-major (Vasco da Gama) replied that he was the ambassador of the King of Portugal, and the bearer of a message which he could only deliver to him personally. The king said this was good, and immediately asked him to be conducted to a

VASCO DA GAMA AND THE ZAMORIN OF CALICUT.
After a painting by Coke Smyth.

chamber. When the captain-major had entered, the king, too, rose and joined him, whilst we remained where we were. All this happened about sunset. An old man who was in the court took away the couch as soon as the king rose, but allowed the plate to remain. The king, when he joined the captain, threw himself upon another couch, covered with various stuffs em-

broidered in gold, and asked the captain what he wanted.

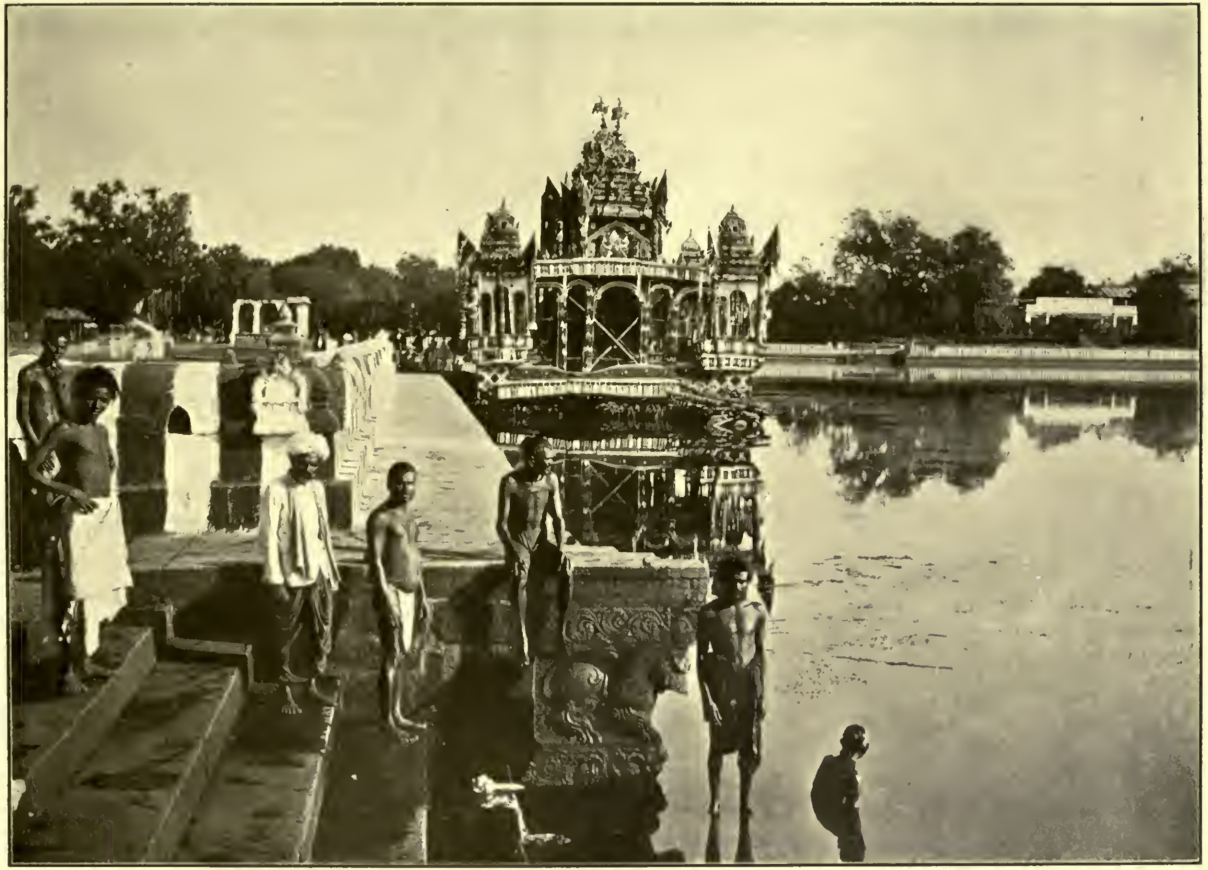
The captain (Vasco da Gama) told him he was the ambassador of the King of Portugal, who was lord of many countries and the possessor of great wealth of every description, exceeding that of any king of these parts; that for a period of sixty years his ancestors had annually sent out vessels to make discoveries in the direction of India, as they knew that there were Christian kings there like themselves. This, he said, was the reason which induced them to order this country to be discovered, not because they sought for gold or silver, for of this they had such abundance that they needed not what was to be found in this country. He further stated that the captains sent out had travelled for a year or two, until their provisions were exhausted, and then returned to Portugal, without having succeeded in making the desired discovery. There reigned a king now whose name was Dom Manuel, who had ordered him to build three vessels, of which he had been appointed captain-major, and who had ordered him not to return to Portugal until he should have discovered this king of the Christians, on pain of having his head cut off. That two letters had been entrusted to him to be presented in case he succeeded in discovering him, and that he would do so on the ensuing day; and, finally, he had been instructed to say by word of mouth that he (the King of Portugal) desired to be his friend and brother.

In reply to this the king said that he was welcome;

that, on his part, he held him as a friend and brother, and would send ambassadors with him to Portugal. This latter had been asked as a favour, the captain pretending that he would not dare to present himself before his king and master unless he was able to present, at the same time, some men of this country.

These and many other things passed between the two in this chamber, and as it was already late in the night, the king asked the captain with whom he desired to lodge, with Christians or with Moors? And the captain replied, neither with Christians nor with Moors, and begged as a favour that he be given a lodging by himself. The king said he would order it thus, upon which the captain took leave of the king and came to where we were, that is, to a veranda lit up by a huge candlestick. By that time four hours of the night had already gone.

We all went forth then with the captain in search of our lodgings, and a countless crowd with us. And the rain poured down so heavily that the streets ran with water. The captain went on the back of six men (in a palanquin), and the time occupied in passing through the city was so long that the captain at last grew tired, and complained to the king's factor, a Moor of distinction, who attended him to the lodgings. The Moor then took him to his own house, and we were admitted to a court within it, where there was a veranda roofed in with tiles. Many carpets had been spread, and there were two large candlesticks like those at the royal palace. At the top of each of these were



A Decorated Water Car at Madura in Southern India.

great iron lamps fed with oil or butter, and each lamp had four wicks, which gave much light. These lamps they use instead of torches.

This same Moor then had a horse brought for the captain to take him to his lodgings, but it was without a saddle, and the captain refused to mount it. We then started for our lodgings, and when we arrived we found there some of our men (who had come from the ships) with the captain's bed, and with numerous other things which the captain had brought as presents for the king.'

A more elaborate, if less trustworthy, account of this audience with the Zamorin is given, as mentioned above, in Gaspar Correa's "Lendas;" but this record, despite its claim to being based on the diary of the Portuguese monk Figueiro, is less reliable than the "Roteiro," or Journal, because it was given at second hand, since Correa did not arrive in India until 1514, a number of years after the occasion. Nevertheless, as already stated, the account has a peculiar value of its own as a description of manners and customs at the Zamorin's court, regarding which Correa was fully qualified to speak, owing to his long stay in India, where he died some time before 1583, as pointed out by Stanley in his translation for the Hakluyt Society. Such observations as those relating to the Zamorin's constantly chewing the leaves of the betel-nut during the interview impart a realistic touch that will be recognized by any one who has travelled in India.

'The King (the Zamorin) sent to tell the captain-major (Vasco da Gama) that he was in his palace wait-

ing for him. Upon this the captain-major went at once in the boat and the Moorish broker took him on shore with all the packages in large Indian boats, and he went into the factory, where he dressed himself in a long cloak coming down to his feet, of tawny-coloured satin, lined with smooth brocade, and underneath a short tunic of blue satin, and white buskins, and on his head a cap with lappets of blue velvet, with a white feather fastened under a splendid medal; and a valuable enamel collar on his shoulders, and a rich sash with a handsome dagger. He had a page dressed in red satin, and in front of him went the men in file one before another. First after these went the basin, carried wrapped in a napkin by a man who held it against his breast, and in front another with the ewer; then a tray with the knives and caps, and then the open mirror which had doors, and was all splendidly gilt; next the pieces of silk, and in front of all the chair

DOM ANDRÉ FURTADO DE MENDOÇA,
Thirty-seventh Portuguese Governor of India (1609).

carried upon the head of the broker; and there was in front a piece of scarlet cloth opened so as to show it. Before these went the trumpets sounding, and the factor went with a cane in his hand, and his cap off, as he conducted all the bearers of the presents.

The king was in a balcony and saw everything in the order in which it came, with great pleasure at seeing such rich things. The factor entered in front and presented each thing to the king, and he placed a cushion upon the chair, and another at its foot (and said), that the ambassador asked him as a favour to sit on the chair for him to give him his embassage seated on that chair, and the king, with the great satisfaction which he experienced, sat upon it. Before arriving at the palace there was a long street through which the captain-major went; but the crowd was so great that our men could not advance, even though there were many Nairs (soldiers) making the people keep off, and in that crowd there were a great number of Moors also with swords and shields, after the fashion of the Nairs. The captain-major went very leisurely and without fatiguing himself, and remained still until they had made the people stand off.

Before reaching the palace, by the king's orders, the catual (Hindustani *kotwāl*, "seneschal") of the king's house came to receive the captain-major; he is the chief officer of the guard of the king's palace, and if any one enters where the king dwells, without his leave, immediately he will order his head to be cut off at the door of the palace without asking the king's

pleasure about it. With this catual the Portuguese proceeded with less encumbrance, because he ordered the people to keep off, and they were much afraid of him. Each time the factor (trader) presented any piece of goods, the king looked at it for some time, and this caused much detention. When the captain-major (Vasco da Gama) arrived, he was conducted through many courts and verandas to a dwelling opposite to that in which the king was, beyond, in another room arranged with silk stuffs of various colours, and a white canopy, which was of subtle workmanship and covered the whole room.

The king was sitting in his chair, which the factor had got him to sit upon; he was a very dark man, half-naked, and clothed with white cloths from the middle to the knees; one of these cloths ended in a long point on which were threaded several gold rings with large rubies, which made a great show. He had on his left arm a bracelet above the elbow, which seemed like three rings together, the middle one larger than the others all studded with rich jewels, particularly the middle one which bore large stones which could not fail to be of very great value; from this middle ring hung a pendent stone which glittered: it was a diamond of the thickness of a thumb; it seemed a priceless thing. Round his neck was a string of pearls about the size of hazel-nuts, the string took two turns and reached to his middle; above it he wore a thin round gold chain which bore a jewel of the form of a heart, surrounded with larger pearls, and all full of rubies; in

the middle was a green stone of the size of a large bean, which, from its showiness, was of great price, which was called an emerald; and, according to the information which the Castilian afterwards gave the captain-major of this jewel, and of that which was in the bracelet on his arm, and of another pearl which the king wore suspended in his hair, they all three belonged to the ancient treasury of the kings of Calicut. The king had long dark hair, all gathered up and tied on the top of his head with a knot made in it; and round the knot he had a string of pearls like those round his neck, and at the end of the string a pendent pearl pear-shaped, and larger than the rest, which seemed a thing of great value. His ears were pierced with large holes, with many gold earrings of round beads.

Close to the king stood a boy, his page, with a silk cloth round him; he held a red shield with a border of gold and jewels, and a boss in the centre of a span's breadth of the same materials, and the rings inside for the arm were of gold; also a short drawn sword of an ell's length, round at the point, with a hilt of gold and jewelry with pendent pearls. On the other side stood another page, who held a gold cup with a wide rim, into which the king spat; and at the side of his chair was his chief Brahman, who gave him from time to time a green leaf (the betel leaf) closely folded with other things inside it, which the king ate and spat into the cup. That leaf is of the size of an orange leaf, and the king was always eating it; and after much mastication he spat it into the cup, and took a fresh one, because he

only tasted the juice of this leaf and the mixture that goes with it of quicklime and other things, which they call areca, cut up small; it is of the size of a chestnut. Thus chewed all together, it makes the mouth and teeth very red, because they use it all day wherever they may be going, and it makes the breath very pleasant. The factor having finished presenting all the things to the king, which he was looking at very leisurely,

AN INDIAN BETEL NUT CUTTER.
(Exact size.)

the ambassador arrived and made profound salutations to the king; and the king, bowing his head and his body a little, extended his right hand and arm, and with the points of his fingers he touched the right hand of the captain-major, and bade him sit upon the dais upon which he was; but he did not sit down, and spoke to him through the language which Joan Nuz spoke to the broker, and the broker spoke to the Brahman, who was by the king; there were also there the overseer of the treasury and the gozil (vizir).

Vasco da Gama said to the king: "Sire, you are powerful and very great above all the kings and rulers of India, and all of them are under your feet. My sovereign, the great King of Portugal, having heard of your grandeur, and it is spoken of throughout the world, had a great longing to become acquainted with you and to contract friendship with you as with a brother of his own, and with full and sincere peace and amity to send his ships with much merchandise, to trade and buy your merchandise, and above all pepper and drugs, of which there are none in Portugal; and with this desire he sent fifty ships with his captain-major; and he sent me to go on shore with his present and message of love and friendship, which I have presented to you, because I have been separated from the rest of my company by storms. God has been pleased to bring me here where I now am, and, therefore, I truly believe that you are the king and ruler whom we came in search of, since here we find the pepper and drugs which our king commanded us to seek, and which you, Sire, have been pleased to give us; and I have great hopes in God that before we depart hence another fleet will arrive here, or some others, for without doubt, Sire, we came to seek for you; and I tell you, Sire, that so powerful is my sovereign, the King of Portugal, that after I shall have returned to him with your reply, and with this cargo which you are giving me, he will send hither so many fleets and merchandise, that they will carry away as many goods as are to be had in this city. To certify the truth of what I say, here is the letter of

the king my sovereign signed with his hand and seal, and in it you will see his good and true words which he says to you."

Vasco da Gama then kissed the letter and placed it upon his eyes, and upon his head, and gave it to the king with his knee on the ground; the king took it and placed it on his breast with both hands, showing marks of friendship, and opened it and looked at it, then gave it to the overseer of the treasury, telling him to get it translated. The king then said to Vasco da Gama that he should go and rest, and that he would see the letter and answer it; and that he should ask the overseer of the treasury for whatever merchandise he wished to put on board, and he would give it him; also whatever he required for the ships; and that he should send all his people to the city to amuse themselves, and to buy whatever they liked, for no one would do them any harm. He told the gozil to announce this by the crier, and with that he dismissed Vasco da Gama, saying that another day he would speak more at leisure, as it was now late. So Vasco da Gama went out with the overseer of the treasury, and the gozil, and the catual of the king's door, who brought him to the factory, with his trumpets blowing before him, and there they took leave of him with salutations. The captain-major slept at the factory, after his great satisfaction, and the next day he sent the trumpeters to the ship with a letter in which he wrote all that had taken place with the king.'

CHAPTER VII

THE PORTUGUESE COMMANDER ALBUQUERQUE'S ENTRANCE INTO GOA AND DESCRIPTION OF MALABAR

1510 A. D.

THE establishment of Portuguese rule on the west coast of India dates from the taking of Goa in 1510 by Affonso de Albuquerque (or, as his name is also written, Afonso Dalboquerque), whose notable achievements have been described in the sixth volume. This eminent navigator and founder of the Portuguese power in the East landed in India in 1503, on the Malabar coast. By a series of brilliant successes he advanced Portugal's prestige not only in India, but also in Ceylon, Malacca, the Sunda Islands, and the island of Ormuz on the Persian Gulf. His career, which may be read in the volumes of the Hakluyt publications, ended in disappointment, however, without receiving true recognition from his country, whose interests he had served so well. He was supplanted in his office of Portuguese governor by a rival, appointed by his king, and, in 1515, he died outside the harbour of Goa, where his genius had won victories for Portugal only five years before.

The selections in this chapter are taken from the

"Commentarios de Afonso d'Alboquerque," published at Lisbon by his son, about forty years after the great commander's death. The first excerpt, reproduced from the translation published by the Hakluyt Society, tells how easily Albuquerque took Goa.

'As soon as D. Jeronymo and Garcia de Sousa had set out to watch the fortress (as I have already described), the great Afonso Dalboquerque remained quiet throughout the night waiting for the break of day, and advised the captains what course they should pursue if any resistance should be offered to them when entering the city. And just as the morning began to break he ordered the signal to be made to them, of which he had previously given them notice. When the captains heard the signal, they weighed anchor, and steered with all their people—about one thousand Portuguese and two hundred men of Malabar—toward the galley where Afonso Dalboquerque was, and from that point commenced their course, and arriving at the city when it was clear day, and not meeting with any resistance, they entered in at the gate, with a cross carried in front of them; and there was the great Afonso Dalboquerque, who, kneeling on his knees and letting fall many tears, gave thanks to our Lord for that loving-kindness which He had shown him in delivering into his hands so large and powerful a city without trouble or the death of any one. This cross was borne aloft by a friar of St. Dominic, and behind it was carried the royal flag which was made of white satin with a cross of Christus worked in the centre, and in

this order of procession they all went on up to the gate of the castle, where the principal Moors of the city, and the governors thereof, stood in expectation of their arrival. And these men, casting themselves at the feet of our party, delivered up to them the keys of the fortress, and begged them earnestly of their kindness that they would respect the assurance of safety that had been given to them.

AFFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE.
From a contemporary Ms.

When Afonso Dalboquerque had entered into the fortress, because he perceived that many men of the city were following behind him, he commanded Dom Antonio de Noronha to wait behind with fifty men at the gate, and not suffer any Moor to enter. The Hindus who were inside approached him in their accustomed courteous manner and told him that they wished to become vassals of the King of Portugal and to place themselves in obedience to him. He therefore received them with great affection and consideration, and ordered proclamation to be made, that under penalty of death for disobedi-

ence, no one should touch a single thing belonging either to the Moors or to the Hindus that were in Goa, but all should treat them as vassals of his lord, the King of Portugal.

As soon as this was over, he proceeded to inspect the fortress and the palace of the Çabaio, which was all made with joinery work, and had gardens and pools of water within it. And thence he went on to some large arsenals, wherein he found many supplies, a great quantity of powder, and many materials for making it, and many weapons for the men, both infantry and cavalry, and a very large quantity of merchandise, and, in some stables of large size, one hundred and sixty horses; and in divers parts of the city there were captured forty large field guns and fifty-five howitzers and of other lesser kinds of artillery a great quantity, and many other things which I do not write of, so that I may not tire the reader. To the shore there were moored forty ships, large and small, and sixteen *fustas*; and there was also there a great supply of ropes and cordage, and boltwork, and everything else that was necessary for them.

And there, too, Afonso Dalboquerque found all the women and children of the Turks and Rumes, whom they could not carry with them, by reason of the haste they made in fleeing away with Milique Çufegurgij. For when this man arrived at the pass of Gondali, intending to cross over to the mainland, so great was the thronging haste that many fugitives were suffocated in the river and others lost their horses and quan-

tities of clothing which they were carrying, because there were no means of passing over the ford except by pieces of wood laid across one another. As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque had gathered the women and children of the Turks together, he ordered that they should receive proper attention and be safely kept; and on the second taking of this city he converted them to Christianity and married them to Portuguese men, as I shall show further on.

Now that the great Afonso Dalboquerque was already in possession of the city, he ordered that the captains of the ships of Cannanore should be called together, and then he gave them permission to depart, and made them accept a part of the spoils that had been taken there. And when these men had departed, he called Timoja, and told him he had information that there yet remained some Turks in the castle of Banda, and in other strongholds round about it; and as he was determined that there should not remain any of the seed of these people in the whole of the kingdom of Goa, he was desirous of ordering him to destroy those castles, and put them all to the sword; he would therefore earnestly desire him to send his cousin with some *fustas* to show our people the entries to the rivers, for they did not know them.

Timoja replied that he considered it a good plan to order the casting out of all the Turks from the island of Goa, and from the neighbouring places, for as long as they remained therein they would give much trouble; so he would make his cousin ready with the

fustas which were necessary for that object. This having been agreed upon, Afonso Dalboquerque sent word to D. Antonio de Noronha, his nephew, to make ready the ship *Sancta Clara*, and the *Cirne*, and the *Flor de la Mar*, and the *Flor da Rosa*, which were stationed outside the bar (as I have already said), and three galleys, and go and overrun all those places and destroy them, not sparing the life of a single Turk or Moor whom they might find.

D. Antonio set out and drew up opposite the fortress of Banda; and as soon as the fleet had dropped anchor, he got into the galleys and ships' boats, and made his way up the river, taking with him in the front rank the cousin of Timoja with three *fustas*. When the Hindus of the land perceived our fleet, inflamed with hatred against the Turks, they all rose up against them, and these, terrified at our men, deserted the fortress and fled away into the interior country, so that when D. Antonia de Noronha arrived, the Hindus were already in possession of it, and their captain immediately had an audience with D. Antonio, and paid him homage for the fortress, promising to hold himself in obedience to the King of Portugal.

As soon as the news that Banda had surrendered ran along the coast, the Turks who were in the fortress of Condal—distrusting the Hindus who were elated at the favourable treatment they had received from our fleet—deserted it and fled up the river. And when it was known in the land that the Turks had fled, a Hindu captain came with a large body of men, and put him-

self into the fortress, and sent his submission to Afonso Dalboquerque, holding himself to be a subject of the King of Portugal, and D. Antonio returned to Goa, and passed up the river with the large ships, and gave an account of what had taken place to his uncle, and how

AN OLD PORTUGUESE FORT NEAR SANJAN.

he had set fire to four vessels which the Rumes had in the river at Banda.'

Of a more descriptive character is the account of the province of Malabar, and the statements concerning the manners and customs of the people are worthy of citation and may be compared with some of the descriptions by the other writers quoted in this volume.

'The Province of Malabar commences at the port of Maceirão, close to Mangalore, and reaches as far as the Cape of Comorin in the interior country, bounded

by the great Kingdom of Narsinga; and all along this land there runs a very lofty mountain range which divides the province of Malabar from the kingdom of Narsinga. The greatest breadth of this land from the seacoast up to the range is about fifteen leagues. These ranges of mountains are so lofty that the natives of Narsinga say that in their country the east winds never blow, because they are prevented from passing over from the other side by reason of the great height. The length of the coast-line of this province would be about a hundred and thirty leagues. In it there are many kings, and all the people are heathens.

The sons of the kings do not inherit, but their nephews, sons of their sisters, not the sons of their brothers, for they hold it to be a very doubtful matter whether their sons are their own. Wherefore, if they have a sister, they give her to a Brahman, who keeps her as his mistress, and the sons of this sister inherit the kingdom. And if they can get Brahman *Patamares* (messengers, or runners, among the Canarese), who come from the kingdom of Cambaya (and are held in these parts as a more noble race than any other), to them they give their sisters to take them from their earliest girlhood, and with this charge they give the Brahmans large sums of money that they may be willing to take this trouble, which they perform very rigorously, and the sons of these sisters inherit the kingdom.

These Brahmans are a set of religious men (just as our priests among us here), who take care of their

pagodas. They have among themselves a scientific language, which is like the Latin among us, that no one understands unless he is instructed in it. They are married to one wife only; they do not eat flesh nor fish, nor anything which may suffer death; their food is rice, milk, butter, and fruits, and their drink, water. And in order that this kind of substance may never fail for the Brahmans, who were numerous, the ancient people of this land forbade that cows or bulls should be killed, under penalty of death; and this law was so strictly observed that not only do they not kill them, but they worship them and they are even held as objects of sanctity. They have knowledge of the Trinity and of Our Lady, whereby it appears that anciently they were Christians.

The *Naires* of this land are the military men and esteemed cavaliers, and the most honourable people of all the country; and it is said that in this province there would be about two hundred thousand of these men. They are very loyal to their king, and worship him; and it has never been found that a *Naire* has been guilty of treason.

They have physicians, whose method of cure is in this wise. To those who are suffering from fevers they give meat and fish to eat, and purge them with the seed of the *figueira de Inferno*, "the fig-tree of hell" (the castor-oil plant), or give the leaves pounded to them in water to drink. If one suffers from diarrhœa, they give him to drink the fresh water of *cocos* (the cocoa-nut), and it is stopped immediately. If any are

sick, they wash their heads for them with cold water, and the vomiting ceases. If wounded, they give warm oil three times a day, and cure them in this manner. In prolonged illnesses, the remedy which they give to the sufferers is to take musicians and make pilgrimages to their pagodas.

In the province of Malabar there are between Chetua and Coulão many Christians of the time of St. Thomas, and there are many churches. Many other customs have they, concerning which I do not write, to avoid digression; but I leave the account of them to those who will write the history of India.'

CHAPTER VIII

HINDU MANNERS AND CUSTOMS AS DESCRIBED BY THE DUTCH MISSIONARY ABRAHAM ROGER

1640 A. D.

ONE of the most interesting accounts of the manners and customs of the people of Southern India is given by the Dutch missionary Abraham Roger, who resided at Pulicat, north of Madras, from 1631 to 1641. His chief informant was an outcast but intelligent Brahman named Padmanabha, who conversed with him in Portuguese. Roger returned to Holland, after five years at Batavia, in 1647, and died at Gonda in 1649. Two years later his widow published at Leyden his memoirs of India, entitled *De Open-Deure tot het vêrborgen Heydendom*, or "The Open Door to Hidden Heathendom," which appeared in a German version at Nuremberg in 1663 and in a French rendering at Amsterdam in 1670. Dr. Louis H. Gray has here translated portions of the work into English for the first time; and his version, which is comprised in this chapter, preserves the atmosphere of the original in a particularly happy manner.

'Our purpose in this treatise is not only to set forth the life and the customs of the Bramines, but

also to reveal their belief and religion. But before we begin to speak of these matters and of that which pertaineth thereunto, we must first make a brief preface on the races and castes of which the heathen nation on the coast of Coromandel doth consist; for that will give light and clearness, the better to understand what shall be said hereafter.

The Bramin Padmanaba (Padmanabha), from whose mouth I have all the mysteries of heathendom which are revealed in this book, beareth witness that there were four general castes or races in this nation. For though it seemeth that five castes should be reckoned thereto, yet they say that there are but four, since the fifth is not really and truly counted among the castes. These four are the caste of the Bramines (Brahmans), the caste of the Settreas (Kshatriyas), of the Weinjas (Vaisyas), and of the Soudras (Sudras). They follow each other in order, like as they are placed here, and also surpass each other in honour. So that the first and the most esteemed is the caste of Bramines; yea, they also say that these are pre-eminent, and most acceptable in the sight of God. The Bramin Padmanaba said that as among all beasts the kine, among all birds the bird Garouda (which is a red sparrow-hawk with a white ring about his neck), and among all trees the tree *rawasittou*, so also among all men and races the caste of Bramines is the first and the most honourable in the eyes of God. Also they have much reverence among that people, so that with them it is a thing beyond all gainsaying that the caste of Bramines hath the

Interior of an Ajanta Cave.
From a Photograph.

first place among the people; and all others, of however reverend race they be, gladly acknowledge that the caste of Bramines doth surpass them in excellence. The Vedam, or the law-book of these heathen, hath brought much honour to this caste, in that it, as through divine ordinance, hath commanded that no Bramin may be put to death for any fault, however evil or shameful it may be; but whensoever a Bramin so goeth astray as to be worthy of death, his eyes are blinded instead thereof. For, as they say, to slay a Bramin is one of the five great sins that may not easily be forgiven; so that the Vedam, or heathen's law-book, hath ordained that he who slayeth a Bramin must go on a pilgrimage for twelve years, and that he must beg for alms with the skull of the slain Bramin in his hand, and that he must eat and drink of what he hath begged, and that, after the lapse of the time aforesaid, he must give many alms and build a temple in honour of Eswara (Isvara, or Vishnu). Nevertheless, if a Bramin goeth to war to kill others, then is it not so great a sin to slay a Bramin; and in that case the slayer is not bound to perform all the aforesaid in atonement, but he can here make recompense (if so be that he have the means) by building a temple in honour of Eswara.

The second caste in order is the caste of the Settreas, which also is a fact beyond dispute and recognized as true by all the other lesser castes. These are the nobles of the land, and there are called Rajes, whose head is the king, wherefore he writeth at the beginning of his letters: "The Raja of Rajes, the god of Rajes." In

olden times the race of nobles had only two branches, whereof the first was called Souriwansjam (Sanskrit *sūrya-vamsa,* " of the solar race "), and had their name from the sun, since *souri* signifieth " sun " in Samscortam (Sanskrit), which is a language wherein all

BRAHMAN PRIESTS AT RAMESWARA, SOUTHERN INDIA.

the mysteries of heathendom are writ, and which is esteemed among the Bramines like as the Latin tongue among the learned in Europe. These are so named because they are the true stock of nobles. The other branch is called Somowansjam (Sanskrit *sōma-vamsa,* " of the lunar race ") and have their name from the moon, since in the language aforesaid *somo* betokeneth " moon." Besides these two branches, there are many

others whose nobility is not so great, for that they have mingled with other races and thereby greatly abased their high estate. The two first named intermarry, but they may not wed with those who have fallen so far from their nobility.

The duty of the nobles is to protect the land and to provide for it, forcibly to withstand the foe, to see that the Bramines suffer no lack, likewise to make sure that all goeth well in the land, that right and justice make progress; and, in short, it is their duty to govern the realm well. Nevertheless, if they be poor, even as there be many poor nobles, it doth sometimes hap that they must live on their estates, and as, moreover, they have no other income and may not take any mercature in hand, and as their household doth ofttimes multiply much because of children, they oft need more than their income bringeth, so that many times they leave behind impoverished children who must then serve as soldiers unto those nobles who have wealth.

The third caste is the caste of the Weinsjas. In this caste some are the Comitijs (Komatis) and some are they who are called Sitti weapari. Each of these claim to be the true Weinsjas. These people gain their livelihood in merchantry and live therefrom; and the Bramin Padmanaba said that they must act therein rightly and without guile, so that they may not win much even from mercature. These folk bear themselves in their manner of life well-nigh like the Bramines, whereas the caste of the Settreas and that of the Soudraes eat fish and flesh, excepting the flesh of kine, which

is forbidden to all castes alike by the Vedam; so that, like as the Mohammedans abstain from the flesh of swine, so also all the castes here refrain from the meat of kine, and have more fear and horror thereof than the Mohammedans feel for the flesh of the pig. Thus

A GROUP OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

the Weinsjas likewise refrain from all that hath had life, even as the Bramines.

The fourth caste is the Soudraes (Sanskrit *Sūdra*), who be the common people. This caste hath within it many and divers divisions, whereof each pretendeth to surpass the others; and therefore it doth ofttimes hap that great strife ariseth in the land, insomuch as one caste or another, be it in marriage or in burial of the dead, goeth beyond what is the custom. Therefrom a whole city ofttimes falleth in an uproar, even as I

do mind me that in the year 1640, in the month of January, the whole city of Paliacatta (Pulicat) on the coast of Coromandel was in tumult, for that the Palijs, which is the caste of poulterers, spread a cloth upon the earth while burying one of their dead, to the end that the corpse might be carried thereover. This the caste of Cauwreaes (Kafirs, *i. e.* "infidels, outcasts") would not suffer, declaring that this was proper for them but not for the Palijs, and that, though they had put up with it for a long time, they would bear it no longer; so that the corpse remained unburied for some days, until it was interred by the authority of the governor of our nation. Thereat the Palijs were so wroth that they went forth from the city with their wives and children, and called the Cauwreaes to open battle; and inasmuch as these Palijs have some among the castes of Soudraes who must hold with them in time of parlousness, therefore they called forth these folk from the city for the space of three months; and so, on January 23, all the carpenters, smiths, and workers in gold, and all who were of these trades, were called forth of the city, and they who remained therein would not work. But before the battle might be joined, time of great unrest ensued, nor was the matter ended without effusion of blood, for in the month of March fifteen Palijs and Cauwreaes were slain in fight, so that ye may see how nicely each caste of Soudraes standeth on its own.

It hath already been said that the caste of Soudraes compriseth many divisions. These have each a special

name, whereby they are distinguished one from another, and ofttimes different trades, whereby they support themselves; but one of the best castes was held the Wellala (Vellalars), some of whom bear rule and others live by agriculture. Next follow, say they, the Ambria, the most of whom live by sowing and some serve the great, although at Paliacatta they also gain their livelihood by building houses. The other castes I

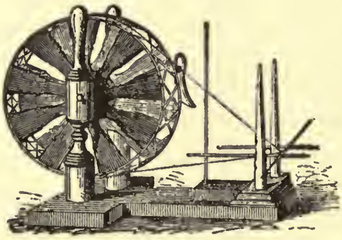
NATIVE INDIAN PLOUGHS.

shall not here set forth according to their order, for that there is no unanimity among them as to which precedeth, but each mightily claimeth and pretendeth that his own caste is best. The Cauwreaes are a very great caste, called "the race of the three hundred." In this caste are received all those that have lost their caste, and therefore they are, as it were, without caste; and therefore they liken this caste to the sea, which receiveth all the water of the rivers, yet doth not become full thereof. Some of this caste govern; many are painters who paint the linen cloth which is needful for the clothing of their nation, as well as of others oversea, especially in Aracan and most of all in Pegu, wheresoever these paintings are much affected and desired. Many are soldiers.

The Sittijs (Sittars, "saints") are merchants and also porters, whensoever they have no means of trade. The Palijs deal in poultry and swine, as well as in merchandise; and some, they say, are painters, and some are soldiers. In ancient times, it is said, they were famed for valour in war and were men in the world. The Ienea are weavers, although each twentieth one is a soldier. The Cottewanias sell fruits, such as the pisang, even as the Sittijs. The Illewanias (Illavars) also sell such fruits as figs and cocoanuts, as well as *iagara* (Anglo-Indian *jaggery*), that is, brown sugar. The Kaikulle is a despised people; the women are mostly courtezans, the which is not held to be shame among them; the men are dancers, but some are weavers, some sowers, and some serve as soldiers. The Sitticaram are merchants, but they differ from the Sittijs aforesaid, who also are merchants, by the sort of wares wherein they deal. The Caltaja are goldsmiths, blacksmiths, stonemasons, carpenters, and builders. The Carreas are fishers who fish with great nets. The Patnouwa fish with little nets. The Maccoba also fish with great nets. The Callia (Kalyara) are likewise fishermen, and have their special mode of fishing. The Conacapule are writers. The Gurrea are herdsmen. The Bargeurrea are also herdsmen, but these are Bergas, which is a race highly honoured among this people. The Riddi (Reddis) are farmers, and some are soldiers. The Camawaer (Kamma Varus) are farmers, though many are soldiers. The Berga-willala are chiefly farmers. The Innadi are mostly soldiers, but a few

are farmers. The Moutrea are chiefly soldiers. The caste of Tolowa doth exist no longer, and they say that only the name is known.

The caste of Palla is the meanest of all the castes of Soudraes, although it hath somewhat better fame than the Perreaes (Pariahs), of whom we shall speak hereafter. To the Soudraes belongeth also the caste of Correwaes, which is a caste that hath somewhat strange and peculiar; for these people have no home or abiding city, like the other castes, but ever go to and fro through the land with wife and children. They live in little huts, which they set up for a brief space without the cities; and whensoever they depart, they put these huts with their scanty household stuff, together with their pots and pans, on little asses, which they have by them for this end. These people gain their livelihood by making little fans wherewith to fan the rice when it is threshed, and by making covers wherewith the pot is covered when the rice is cooked, so that the water may be let run off from the rice through them. These people also carry salt from the seashore into the country on their little asses; and because that their asses are small and can carry little, therefore are they free of tax in the land and left unmolested. It is said that the women of these Correwaes, who commonly go with a basket under their arm, can prophesy; and since they


AN INDIAN SPINNING-WHEEL.

make the people believe that what they experience is not harmful for them, they receive no small gain from the folk.'

Roger then proceeds to devote a chapter to the subject of the outcast Pariahs, or "Perreaes," as he calls them, a class despised to such a degree that even the heathen did not deem them worthy to be reckoned among their castes.

'In the foregoing division we have spoken of the four chief castes of the heathen nation on the coast of Coromandel and the land thereabout. In this division we shall treat of the Perreaes, the which is a much despised folk among the heathen, and not deemed worthy to be reckoned as a caste among their castes. They will not even suffer them to dwell among them, but these Perreaes and Perresijs (with the first name are named the men, and with the second the women, of this despised people) dwell in places by themselves, living in a quarter of the city and in the open country. Nor do they build their houses in villages, but a great way off from villages, so that they themselves seem to be a little village. They may draw no water from the wells which the villagers use, but have their own wells nigh their houses; and lest the other castes should unwittingly draw water from the wells of the Perreaes, the latter are obliged to put about their wells bones of dead beasts for a sign and a warning that these be Perrea wells; the which is obeyed and fulfilled, whereby the wells are known. These people may not go in the city streets where the Bramines dwell, nor may they

set foot in the open lands in the villages of the Bramines; moreover, all entrance into the temple of their god Wistnou, or Eswara (Isvara, or Vishnu), is forbidden. It is said that they are considered unclean by the Bramines, and, by reason of their uncleanness, they would therefore defile the Bramines and also the temples, which are held to be sacred places.

TWO PARIAHS.

These people gain their livelihood in the land by sowing, by digging and delving, and by the muring of houses, which are made of earth; and they build well-nigh all the houses of the common people, for the carpenter findeth little work there, and ofttimes none. Likewise, they perform all foul tasks that no one else will do; and are fain thereto, for that is their calling. These people be very foul of food, for besides edible stuff, they eat cows, horses, goats, hens, and all manner of beasts that have died, so that it is no marvel that they are right little esteemed and are held to be unclean, especially by the Bramines, who hold so much to outward purity, like as the Pharisees.

Of this caste there are two sorts, the first whereof is called simply Perreaes, and the other Siriperen. The handiwork of the latter is to go about with leather and to prepare it, making bridles thereof and other more

things for beasts. Some of them serve as soldiers. The Perreaes first named are held to be better in caste than the second, wherefore they may in no wise eat in the houses of the Siriperen. Nevertheless, the Siriperen may well eat in the houses of the Perreaes, and they must also do worship unto them, raising their hands and standing up before them. And since, in the year 1640, a certain Siripere in Paliacatta would not do this, the Perreaes seized him and cut off his hair, the which is the greatest affront and shame that can be done to any one.

When these Siriperen marry, they may not erect any *pandael* (shed) with more than three stakes. You must know that in this land the custom is that, whenever a bride is in the house, some stakes are set up before the door, which are covered above, somewhat higher than a man, with lighter sticks, on which verdure is laid to cast shade beneath; and on the stakes which are the posts and stand upright, pisang leaves are fastened as tokens of joy. The structure aforesaid is called *pandael* in the language of the country. Now in the construction of such a *pandael* these people may have no more than three stakes, and in case they should transgress herein, the entire city would be in an uproar.

On the neck of these people lieth certain servitude, since whensoever one of the caste of Comitijs, Sittijs, oil-millers, Palijs, smiths, or goldsmiths, is dead, and of wealth, and will have a shroud bought for him, the which they give to the Siriperen, then must these Siriperen dishevel their beards; and whensoever the dead

man is brought outside the city or village to be burnt or buried, they must go behind the corpse. But those that are not wealthy merely bid them go behind the corpse, and give to each of the aforesaid, in considera-

AMONG THE KATKARIS, A WILD TRIBE IN WESTERN INDIA.

tion of this, a *fanum*, or one and one-half, that is, a piece of money that is there worth seven groats.

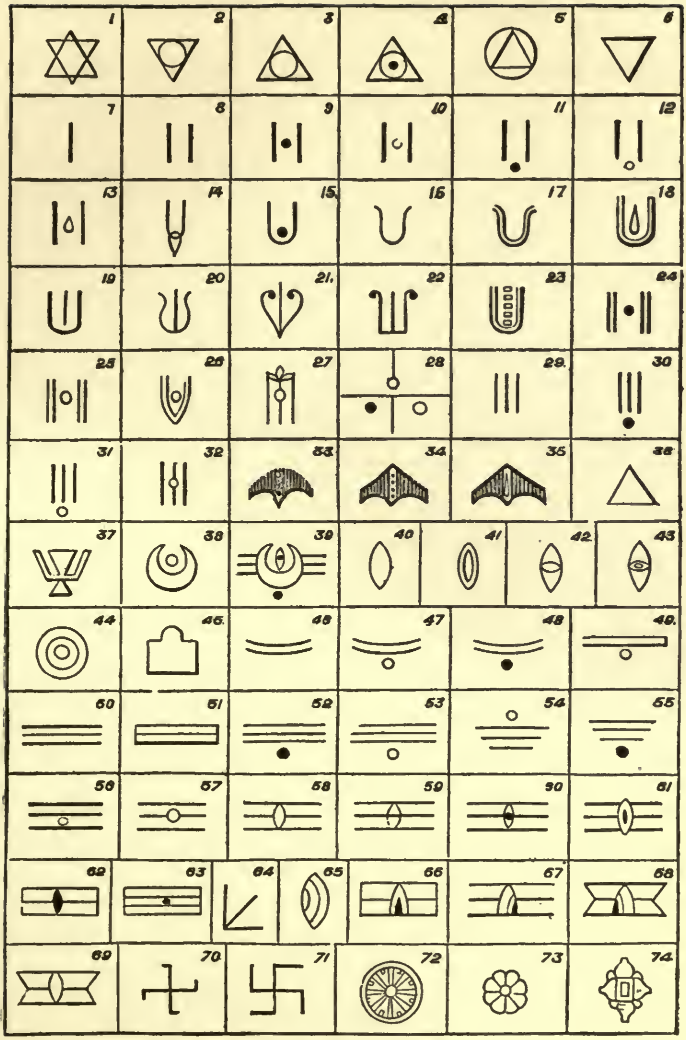
The Bramin Padmanaba said that the Bramines had their name from Bramma (Brahma) and that they bear this name in honour of him, reckoning themselves to be descended from him. It is, indeed, true that they feel that the other castes likewise are descended from him;

nevertheless, they receive their name from Bramma for that they be sprung from his chiefest part, namely, from his head; whilst that the Settreaes are sprung from his arms, the Weinsjas from his thighs, and the Soudraes from his feet: the which is used by the Bramines for a proof of their greater worthiness above other castes. The Bramines are distinguished from one another both in respect of their faith and in respect of their manner of life. In respect of their faith the Bramines are of six kinds: the Weistnouwa, the Seivia, the Smaerta, the Schaerwaecka, the Pasenda, and the Tschectea (Vaishnavas, Saivas, Smartas, Sarvakas, Pasendas (?), Saktas).

They of the sect of the Weistnouwa (Vaishnavas) say that Wistnou (Vishnu) is the highest god, and that none is like unto him; and for that they recognize Wistnou as the highest god, are they called Weistnouwa. Moreover, they of the caste of the Soudraes, whensoever they agree in their faith with these, are termed *daetseri*, that is, "servants." But it must be known that, when they are so called, it is to be understood, as the Bramin Padmanaba said, that they are servants to the Bramines; which service the Bramines hold to be a great honour for the Soudraes, in that they should be esteemed worthy to be servants to the Bramines. They persuade these people that the deity esteemeth the service which they do the Bramines even as it were done to himself; and they testify to the Soudraes that whosoever of their caste yieldeth up his life to protect Bramines, cometh after death to the

realm of Dewendre (Devendra, or the god Indra). So, whensoever Bramines are named Daetsja, or Dasa, which also betokeneth "servant," it must be understood that they are servants to God and peculiar to Him; but it is not to be understood of them as of the Soudraes, for it lieth far from them to confess that they be servants to any caste.

The sect of Weistnouwa aforesaid is again divided into two parts, the first being named Tadwadi Weistnouwa or Madwa Weistnouwa. This name they bear from Tadwadi Weistnouwa, for that they, so they pretend, are mighty disputants, who know how to discourse profoundly of God and of divine matters, and to defend their words. For in the Samscortam tongue *tadwadi* betokeneth "disputant," and *tadwa* "knowledge of God." And the name of Madwa they bear from one Madwa Atsjaria (Madhava Acharya), who, they say, was the first finder, or poet, of this sect. The second sort of Weistnouwa are called Ramanouja Weistnouwa. This name of Ramanouja they have from one Ramanouja Atsjaria (Ramanuja Acharya), who was a founder and poet of this sect. Each of these Weistnouwa hath his own special mode and manner of marking himself. The Tadwadi mark themselves daily with a little white stripe which runneth from the nose up to the forehead, and also on the sides of the head to the place where the arms are joined to the shoulder-blades; and likewise on both breasts with a round mark as large as a double stiver. They say that this is the mark of Wistnou, and that it serveth them as a weapon whereby



INDIAN CASTE MARKS.

From Birdwood's Indian Arts.

Nos. 1-5, Brahma and the Trimurti.
Nos. 6-35, Sectarial Marks of the Vaishnavas.
Nos. 36-69, Sectarial Marks of the Saivas.
No. 70, Mark of the Sakti Sects.
Nos. 71-74, Marks of the Buddhists and Jainas

they are protected against the devil, or Iamma (Yama), the judge of hell, so that none of them may lay hands upon them or draw nigh them.

The Tadwadi promise Wistnou to acknowledge him as the only god and to obey him without accepting any other one deity or obeying any other god. Nevertheless, they add hereto that it is not enough to make such a promise, but that a godly and virtuous life must be led at all times, and that a promise which is not fulfilled shall profit nothing, but that such service shall find its meet punishment. The Tadwadi Weistnouwa have a chief of their sect who liveth in the neighbourhood of Paliacatta, in a place called Combeconne, where he is well known. He weareth no cord about his neck like the other Bramines, nor hath he any wife, but when he entereth upon his dignity, he leaveth all, and commonly goeth with a bamboo reed in his hand.

The Ramanouja Weistnouwa mark themselves with a mark which is almost a Greek upsilon, making it on the forehead extending upward from the nose. For this they use *namou*, a material almost like white chalk; but where the arms join the shoulder-blades, they brand another mark, and say that this mark branded in their flesh is enough, and that they need not mark all their limbs daily. They say that when they have given themselves to their god with a good and upright heart, and have promised to be his servants without recognizing any other, that this is enough, and that, even if they do not conduct themselves well for the rest of their life, nevertheless God will be gracious unto them be-

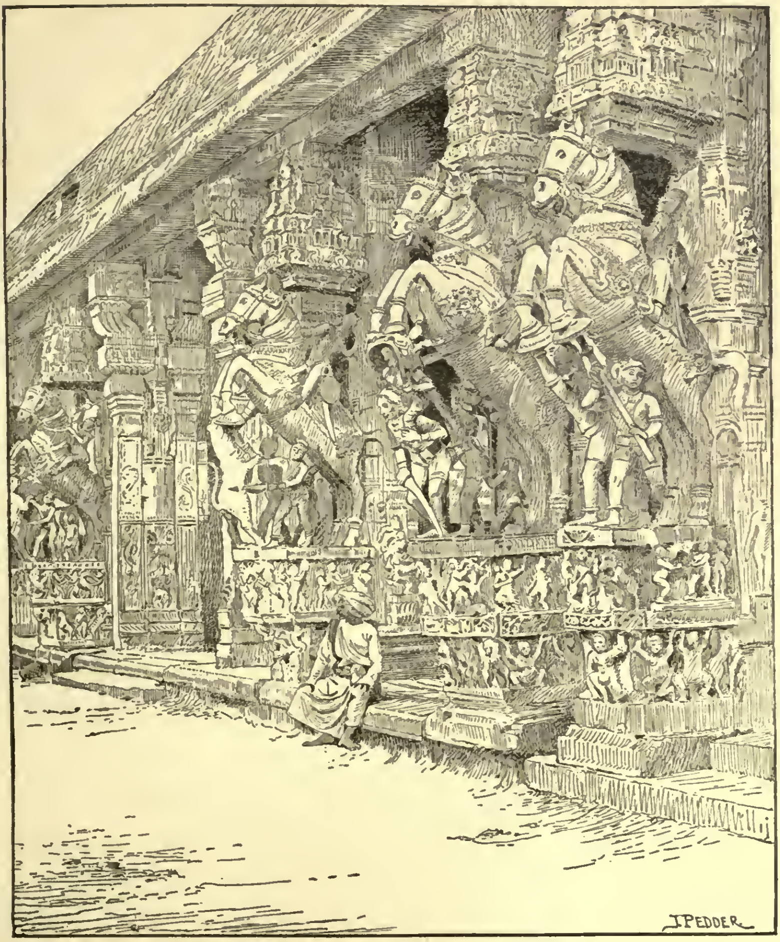
cause of their promise, and that he will not reckon the evil end of a sinful life to their punishment. They say that Wistnou will never abandon those whom he hath accepted in his love; and they add hereto that no father can kill his child that goeth astray; that man cannot live without sin; and that it is therefore impossible that Wistnou, having accepted any one, should again abandon him. There are, moreover, many other things wherein these Ramanouja differ from the Tadwadi Weistnouwa.

These Ramanouja Weistnouwa may not cover their heads with any covering, as the other Bramines do, but go bareheaded. Their hair is cut short, except a tuft on the crown of their head, which hangeth down behind and hath a knot tied in it. Nevertheless, the chief of this sect, who hath his residence in Cansjewaram (Conjevaram), a very great city in the kingdom of Carnatica (the Karnatic), and therefore is a man of honour and regard, hath the pre-eminence over his fellows in that he may have a covering on his head; yet not always hath he such a covering, but whensoever he standeth to speak with any.

The Ramanouja say that their sect is better than the Tadwadi, and therefore they say that they may not meddle in any mercature, and also that they go not into bawdy houses, else might it hap to any one of them to be bitterly and severely punished by their chief for this sin. Nor is it permitted the Tadwadi to go into such houses, yet even if they do it, yet are they neither reproved nor punished, as is the case among the Ra-

manouja, even as the Bramin Damersa, being of the sect of the Tadwadi, hath himself borne witness.

The second sect of the Bramines, named Seivia (Sai-



SCULPTURES OF A SOUTHERN INDIAN TEMPLE.

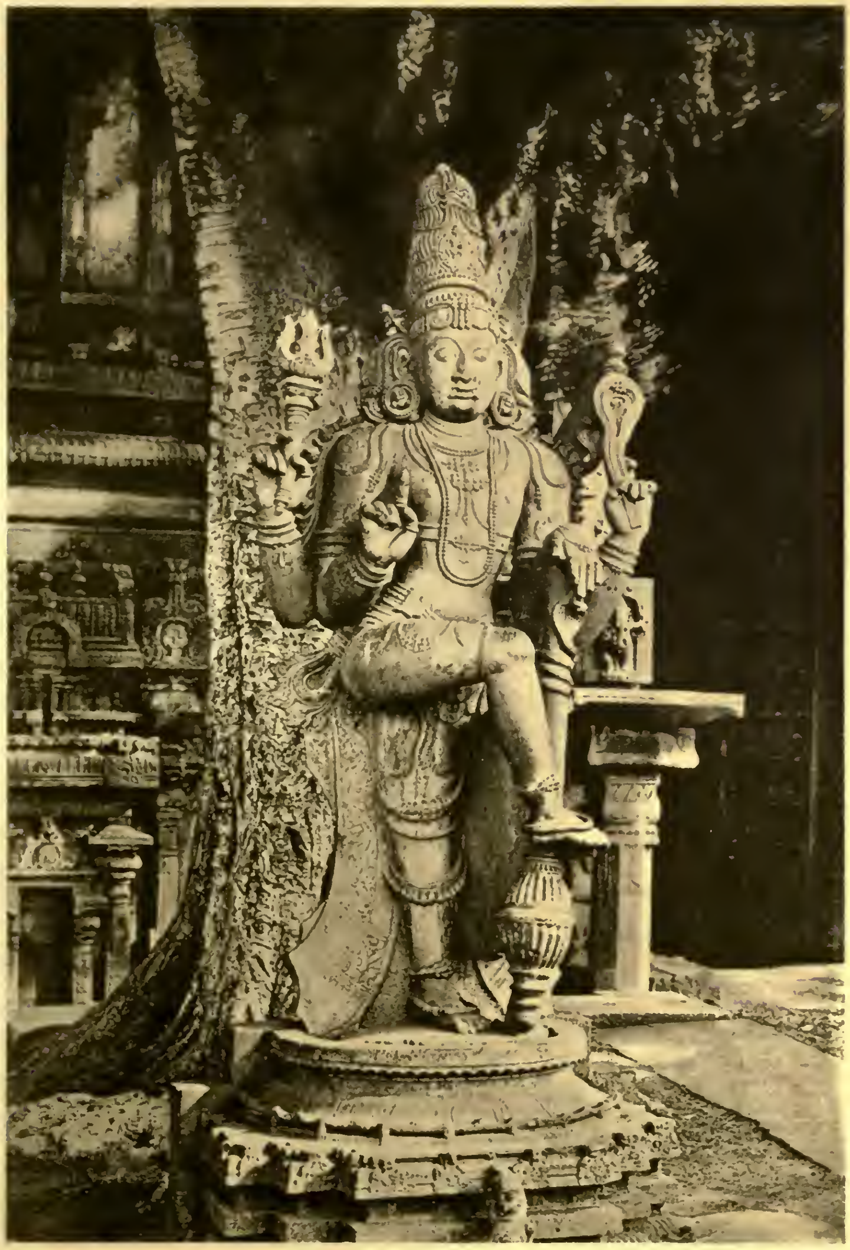
vites) and also Aradh-iha (Sanskrit *Arādhya*, "worshipful"), say that one Eswara (Isvara, Siva) is the highest god, and that all others stand below him and

are less than he, yea, even Wistnou, whom the Weistnouwa pretend to be the chiefest god. Those of the Soudra caste who agree herein with these Bramines are called Sjangam (Sanskrit *sanga*, " company "). This sect mark their heads with three or four streaks of ashes of burnt cow-dung. Some of them wear about their necks a certain stone, or idol, which they call *lingam*, and some wear it in the hair of their heads; they let their children, when they are eight or ten years old, wear it covered with wax, bound to their arm with a cord. They that wear this *lingam*, do it for a proof and open avowal that they put their full trust and confidence in Eswara, and that they recognize no other god but him. The Soudraes who wear this *lingam* refrain from fish and flesh and from all that hath died, even as the Bramines.

The third sect is called Smaerta (Sanskrit, *Smārta*, " traditionalists ") and had, as the Bramin Padmanaba testified, who himself was of this sect, one Sancra Atsjaria (Sankara Acharya) as a poet and founder of their sect. They say that Wistnou and Eswara are one, even though they be worshipped under different images, and they are averse to some saying that Wistnou is the chiefest god and object to others esteeming Eswara as of this rank. I have not been able to find that these Smaertas mark themselves outwardly with any mark whereby they may be distinguished from each other. They seem not to have many followers among the common folk, since this matter is somewhat too high for their understanding and their concept cannot be at-

A Statue of the God Siva at Vellore in Southern India

The Hindu divine triad consists of Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Siva the Destroyer. The Indian representations of Siva, or Mahadeva, as he is often called, are many and various, but he always holds in one of his hands the "trisul," or trident, as his characteristic emblem.



tained, and this the less since the Bramines hold it as a mystery.

The fourth sort, called Schaerwaecka (Sarvaka), are of the race of Epicureans and believe that life is the end of man, and that after this life no other followeth. All that others say of the future life, that they deny, and say that men must prove and show to them so that they may see with their own eyes; otherwise, they will not believe. The Bramin Padmanaba said that if in their dealings with men they conduct themselves well, they do it not to gain any good therefor in the future life, but to win them praise from men. These seem mostly to be of the humour of Pliny, who ridiculed all that men say of the abode of the soul after the death of the body, and who held such things for madness and a dream; and said that after the corpse is dead, there remaineth no more of the man than there was before he was conceived and born; and who laughed at those who believed that souls survived, and sought thereby to console themselves in the hour of death.

The fifth sect are called Pasenda. They say that the law, that is, the teaching which is taught everywhere amongst the heathen, is not true; nor do they regard it, but care alone for their belly and let all go its own gait; inasmuch as they hold with the former sort that man endeth with this life. How can it be, they say, that a man who is burnt to ashes and hath become dust should again be made alive? Yet herein they argue not nor speak against the Christian belief of the resurrection of the dead, whereof they have

no knowledge, but in this they do attack the notion of the heathen, who believe in the cycle of the ages and pretend that sometime the day will come when all shall be again even as it now is. That belief they reject and will have none of it. These, said the Bramin Padmanaba, are worse than the preceding, not alone be-

A TODA HUT AT UTAKAMAND IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

cause they have this belief and regard not caste, but also because, even as the beasts, they make no difference between father and mother, brother and sister; they eat with each one of them, they sleep with each one of them, and say that in the person of another woman they but mate with their own wives. The Bramin Padmanaba testified that this godlessness sprang up because that these men sought not for a good name among mankind nor expected any other life after this life.

Nevertheless they are afraid, like the preceding, to avow their belief openly, for that they fear peril of their lives, since the zealous souls of others could not endure this horrible godlessness, but such would readily fall upon them, even as many of them have been killed for this belief aforetime.

The sixth sect is named Tschectea (Saktis), who say that neither Wistnou nor Eswara is the chief god, but one Tschecti (Skt. *Sakti*, " power "), from whom Wistnou, Eswara, and Bramma have their origin, and that they exist through his might, and that the world and all that is therein hath its being through him. These are like the aforesaid in that they will not submit themselves to the Vedam, but require that men shall prove all things to them so that they may see it with their own eyes and that their hands may handle it. These three last sects are held as heretics by the heathen and have but few followers of their evil belief.'

In the eleventh chapter of the first book of his " Open Door " Roger deals with the subject of marriage among the Brahmans, telling of the early age at which children are married and the manner in which the match is made, and describing the performance of the marriage ceremony.

' The Bramins are concerned right early to see that their sons obtain a wife and their daughters a husband; but it must be known that the Bramines, the Settreas, and also the Weinsjas may not take this matter in hand before that their sons have received the Brahmanical cord. They that be wealthy and rich are much earlier

about this matter than they that be poor, and the rich are ofttimes busied herewith when their children are but eight years old, yea, some so soon as they have received the cord, that is, in their fifth year. And it is also carefully observed of the Bramines that they ever look for a daughter who is younger than their son. The reason is, so the Bramin testified, because that the Bramines may not marry women who have already had their flowers; wherefore the Bramines are right careful to marry their daughters off full soon, since if a daughter of a Bramin be not married before her time, no one may take her to wife. Whensoever daughters remain long with their parents, they hide this fact to avoid disquietude, and in order that their daughters may not be prevented from being married. Nevertheless, they of the Settrea caste pay not the least heed hereto, but marry not only with girls who have never had their flowers, but also with those whom they know have had them; though they also hold it more honourable that they give regard to this matter.

Whensoever a Bramin setteth forth to make provision for his son, he must pay right close heed to the omens which meet him, whether they be good or bad; for if an evil omen happeneth to him when he goeth to make his first suit, then must he defer it until the next day. If then, before the second journeying, an ill omen meeteth him, he must again defer it till another day. But if again, for the third time, an evil omen encountereth him, then must he wholly abandon his marriage suit, deeming that it will be an unlucky mar-

riage. Now they of the Weinsja caste (of merchants), when any one speaketh of a snake on the day that they purpose to go make their first suit, hold that for an

AN INDIAN SNAKE CHARMER.

ill omen; but if they see a snake on that day, then must they let the matter rest and never again think of carrying out their purposed suit, since they deem that this would be an evil and unlucky marriage. Also these Weinsja take a half *pagode*, or a half-ducat of

gold, the which they melt, and if the molten gold showeth clear, they hold it for a good omen and think that it is proper to proceed with the marriage; but if it showeth dark, it is an ill omen and the marriage is deferred. Nevertheless, the Bramines hold very little to this omen.

Whenever a daughter is sought in marriage by any one, then must the father of the daughter seek to see the man by whom this suit is made, and to have knowledge of his position, and after he hath been acquainted therewith, if the man pleaseth him, he then permitteth the bachelor to come unto the friends of the daughter and that he may also see the daughter with his own eyes. If, then, they fancy each the other, and if this be well pleasing to the friends, the marriage is concluded and confirmed. But those of the Soudra caste will not grant their daughters except the bridegroom count out for the daughter a certain sum of money which the father bespeaketh; so that he seemeth to buy her. Nevertheless, they will not call this money purchase-money, but a gift.

When a marriage is agreed upon, then is a time set for a certain good day, that the friends may come together from every side to perform the ceremonies which are by custom used amongst them whensoever two persons have plighted their marriage troth. And these are as follows: the father of the bride giveth betel to the friends of the bridegroom, and he testifieth in the presence of all them that are there present that he hath given his daughter unto N., sib of the friends there

present. Thereat the friends of the bridegroom also give betel to the friends of the bride and bear witness as aforesaid, and they take to be witnesses them that be present. When the time for the marriage is come, then they proceed, with no long delay, to the celebration of their nuptials. I say "when the time for the marriage is come," for these heathen do not marry throughout the entire year, but only in the months of February, May, June, October, and in the beginning of November, on certain good days and hours, in the observance whereof they are very nice.

Whensoever the appointed time is come for the marriage to be completed, then prepare they the *homam* (soma) fire from the wood of a tree which in their tongue is hight *rawasittou* and is full holy. This fire is for a witness of the wedlock which is here begun, and thereover the Bramin speaketh a prayer. Thereafter the bridegroom thrice taketh his hands full of rice and casteth it over the head of his bride, and so also doth the bride to the bridegroom. Then the father of the bride taketh some garments, jewels, and the like, according to his ability, and adorneth the bride therewith; and likewise doth he also to the bridegroom. Then washeth he the bridegroom's feet, and the bride's mother poureth water over them. Thereafter the father taketh the hand of his daughter in his hand and poureth water therein and some gold; and if that he be rich, he holdeth much more in his hand, and thus he giveth his daughter's hand over to the bridegroom in the name of God, and saith: "I have no more to do with thee;

I give thee over." But when the father giveth over his daughter's hand to the bridegroom, then is there on her hand a little cord, whereon is fastened the golden head of an idol, the which they call a *tali*. This *tali* is shown to the bystanders, and after some prayers and felicitations, the bridegroom taketh this *tali* and bindeth it about the neck of his bride; and whenas this knot is tied, so are the bonds of marriage firm; but so long as this *tali* is not bound by the bridegroom about the bride's neck, the marriage may be broken off without shame, even though all the things aforesaid have been done. It also happeth among them that whensoever the bridegroom is come to bind the *tali* on the bride, but doth not give the father enough for a wedding portion, one of them that stand by, envying him the quarry, doth give more and winneth the bride, and the father letteth him succeed, for that he gaineth more gold thereby. The heathen governor at Paliacatta, hight Sinanna, said that this was the custom mostly among the Bramines; but methinks they would deny it for shame, albeit it may well hap, though not so much from greed as from poverty, since for the most part the Bramines have no abundant wealth.

Since the *tali* aforesaid, bound about the neck of the bride, maketh the marriage tie, therefore, when the husband dieth, it is burnt with him for a token that the bonds of marriage are broken; but if the wife be burnt with her husband, then is the *tali* burnt with her.

The matters which we have related thus far are performed in the house of the bride; but since the

wedding is a thing which doth attract the populace and must be known, therefore they make public pronouncement that the marriage is to be performed; and when this cometh to pass, they do it before the eyes of all

A TODA TEMPLE AT UTAKAMAND IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

the world. Accordingly, when they proceed to perform the marriage, they make, a few days before it, a *pandael*, that is, a shed, before the bride's door, where the marriage is to be performed. And, if it be possible, they have four pisang-trees, whereby it is known that a marriage is to be performed in such-and-such a house where this structure standeth. On the day that the

marriage is performed and the ceremonies aforesaid are observed, which is the first day, the father of the bride giveth a feast unto the friends and also food to the poor, the which lasteth five days in succession, and the *homam* aforesaid may likewise last the five days. On the seventh day the bride goeth forth with the bridegroom and is borne, even by night, through the principal streets of the city in a *palakijn* (palanquin) with many torches and bassoons and fireworks, accompanied by their friends, some on horses, some on elephants, since they seek to make their estate honourable in every wise; and thus the bride is brought openly to the house of the bridegroom. There she abideth three or four days if she be young and be yet unable to know man; and then they bring her again to her father's house. But when she is come to woman's estate, then she abideth henceforth with her husband.

When the children of the Bramines are wedded, they are no more called *bramasarijs* (Sanskrit *brahmācārya*, " chaste "), but *grahastas* (Sanskrit *grihastha*, " householder "), and receive the second cord, consisting of three strings. And commonly they add to the second cord the third also, and it serveth them for an upper garment; for the Bramines may not go with the upper part of the body bare. And although they go with the upper portions of their persons exposed, as is the common practice, nevertheless, since they have the third cord, they hold it as a garment, and it is counted among them as if they went with their bodies covered. Every ten years that they gain in age, they add yet another

cord to the previous ones; and also each time that a child is born to them, they may add a cord to the former ones. This the Vedam doth ordain, yet the Bramin Padmanaba said that it was not obeyed so nicely by all; but the more zealous each among them is in heathendom, the nicer he is to obey whatsoever the Vedam hath ordained respecting these cords.'

'The Bramines may not marry their children, whether sons or daughters,' says Roger in his twelfth chapter, 'save to those who be of their caste, and herein are they very precise. And although the other castes also do not ordinarily marry their children except to their own caste, nevertheless it doth sometimes come to pass that they give their daughters to men who are of a higher caste, being led thereto by marking the reverence of the caste. But the Bramines cannot be led or enticed by such considerations, since if they should give their daughters to another caste, they must necessarily do despite to their own caste, for that it is the first in reverence.

One might ask, however: "Be there, then, no Bramines who have wives from other castes?" I answer, "Yes," but that cometh to pass thus: These sons of Bramines, when they are old in years and are no longer content with the wife of their youth, with whom they were wedded by their fathers' care, but seek to give rein to their lusts and to delight the flesh, ofttimes take to themselves wives of other castes who are well pleasing in their eyes both for the fair comeliness of their bodies and for the colour which adorneth them. Never-

theless, according to the opinion of the Bramines themselves, it is a deed of imprudence when a Bramin taketh

THE MARBLE ROCKS AT JABALPUR.

to himself a wife from the Soudra caste; since whensoever a Bramin leaveth behind him offspring from such a wife, then that Bramin, so they are persuaded,

is deprived of heaven on his death, so long as his descendants be on earth. Wherefore the Bramin Padmanaba also said that it was a very great sin to leave offspring by such a wife. In their Poranes (Puranas), that is, ancient histories, it is also found that a certain Bramin of great fame among them, hight Sandragoupeti Naraia (Chandragupta Narayana), being old, was sore afflicted when he saw that his son Barthrouherri (Bhartrihari), born to him by a wife of the Soudra caste, had three hundred wives, since he concluded therefrom that he must long miss heaven for this cause.

Although the Bramines take such nice heed to whom they marry their children, like as we have understood, nevertheless one might very easily marvel whether they also pay any regard lest they marry them to those who be too near akin to them, either by blood or by affinity. In sooth, they do mind them thereof and have horror of incest. The Bramin Padmanaba, once speaking with me of this matter, said that this was one of the five great sins which may not lightly be forgiven, and that the Vedam had ordained that they who might come to err therein should have their privities cut off and given them in their hands, and that such should then be let die of themselves without permitting them to be healed; but on the women no punishment was laid for this, since they themselves could not fall into this sin save through seducement. In this connection, to show how horrible this sin was deemed among them, the Bramin related that a certain Bramin near Paliacatta, the which still lived, had unwittingly slept with his mother by

night, for that he found her in the place where he was wont to find his wife, and the mother thought that he was her husband. But when this Bramin discovered the sin which he had done, he unmanned himself and went to drown himself. However, he was haled out and cured, for that he had done it unwittingly.

It must be noted, nevertheless, that in the reckoning of blood kinship and affinity, within which it is

A TAMIL BATHING-PLACE AT TRICHINOPOLI.

permitted to wed or not, these heathen differ much from us and from other nations. For among them it is allowed to marry a wife's sister, yea, to have two, three, and more sisters together; but that two brothers should each have a sister, that is not permitted among them and would be incest. They may also wed the daughter of their father's sister, but not the daughter of their father's brother; likewise the daughter of their sister, but not the daughter of their brother. But the Bramin Padmanaba said that, notwithstanding that

this last was not permitted to the Bramines, it was allowed to the Soudraes; the which was manifest from the heathen governor Sinanna, who, in the time of my residence at Paliacatta, ruled the city in the name of the king of Carnatica, who had married his brother's daughter. The heathen of Siam and Pegu also differ much herein from the heathen on the coast of Coromandel, since they may also wed with their father's brother's wife, which these may not do.'

'The belief of the Hindus,' continues Roger in another chapter, 'is that more or less punishment doth befall the wicked after this life, and that some are to be punished in this world after their death, and some outside this world. And in what fashion all this is to take place we shall now set forth. They believe that it is because of sin that the souls of some pass from their bodies into another body so soon as they die. These heathen agree herein with Plato, who likewise was of the opinion that the soul of one migrateth to another, and not alone into the body of another man, but also into the bodies of beasts. This hath Plato believed, who was a marvel among the heathen in his time; this hath his disciple, Plotinus, also held to be good. But this hath displeased Porphyry, who hath thought that after death the souls of men migrate only into the bodies of men, and not into the bodies of beasts. And the reasons that moved him to make changes in the belief of his master were that he held it shameful for the soul of a mother to migrate into a mule and draw her own son. But he did not take into consid-

eration that it was still more shameful that the soul of a mother might pass into a young girl and be known by her own son. Nevertheless, these heathen make no difficulty either of the one or the other, but it is their firm belief that the souls of men pass from one body to another, whether of men, beasts, or herbs, and that this befalleth each man according to his deeds. But of those who migrate into the bodies of beasts, they deem them the luckiest who enter into kine; since the body of these beasts they hold to be the most lucky gaol or prison, for that they believe that among all sorts of beasts kine are the most acceptable to God, and that Nandi, or Baswa (Sanskrit *vrishaba*, "bull"), was an ox and the *wahanam*, that is, carrier, whereon Eswara (Siva) was carried; wherefore these heathen hold kine in high honour. They may not slaughter any of them, but as great horror as the Mohammedans have of pork, so great horror have they of eating beef. I have seen more reverence done a dead ox belonging to a pagoda than if he had been a man; for even as it is the custom, wherever there is a dead man, for bassoons to be blown, so was it done regarding this ox; and moreover he was covered with a robe in stately wise, and had incense burned over him.

They also believe that some persons become devils because of their sins, and that they wander through the air until the time of their punishment be passed. They say that these suffer very great hunger, and that they cannot get a single blade of grass from the earth to fill their hungry bellies, and that they can enjoy

naught from this earth save what is given them by men as alms; and this is the reason that the friends of the deceased put food before the speckled crows for the first nine days after his death, so that if the soul of the departed hath become a devil, nevertheless he

A DEVIL DANCER OF CEYLON.

may come and eat. According to their belief, these also come sometimes among men in human guise; but since they can do no harm, therefore they say that none need fear them.

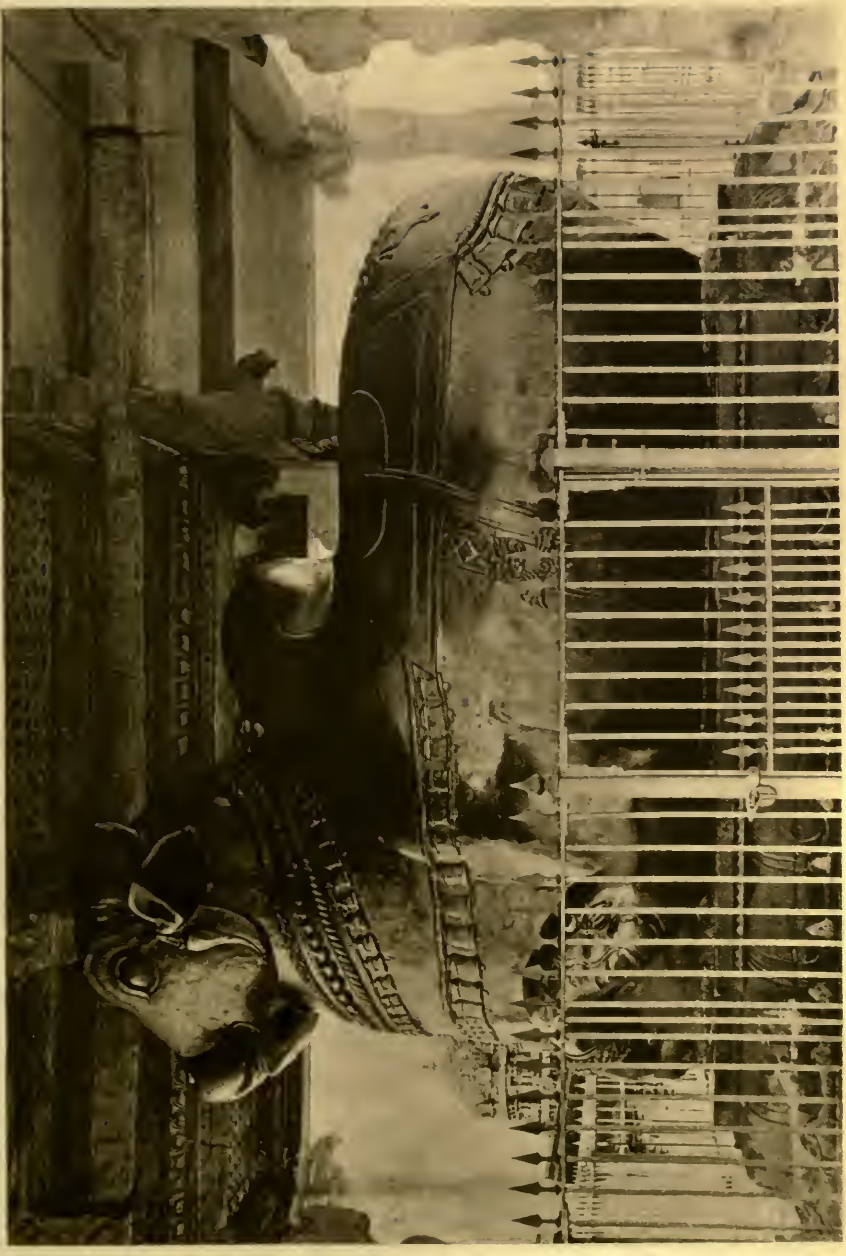
They that be punished outside this world are they who are tormented in Iamma-locon (Sanskrit *Yama-lōka*, "world of Yama"), that is, hell. But it must

be known that some of them who are punished in Iamma-locon win forth therefrom after that they have been therein for the space that was ordained them for their sins; and having passed this space, they themselves come again to this world and enter into one or another body. Howbeit, some of them that fare to hell, win not forth, but must be punished there to all eternity, and these are they that fare unto Antam tappes, that is, the pit of darkness. They say that this is a dark pit, which is called Antam tappes because of its darkness; and that they who fall therein never win forth from it, but ever abide there, yet without dying; and that there they must endure all manner of pains and torments. There, they say, are thorns; there are crows with iron beaks; there are savage dogs; there are gnats that bite cruelly; cold, and all that may serve for the increase of pain and torment.

Let us now go investigate also what they believe concerning the state of them who are blessed after their death. Here it must be known that some of them may come again to this world after their death, when that a certain definite space of years be passed; and that some never return, but win to eternal and everlasting beatitude. For them that depart hence but may come again to this world, they say there are seven places, which are Indre-locon or Dewendre-locon, Agni-locon, Niruti-locon, Wajouvia-locon, Cubera-locon, Isanja-locon, and Warrouna-locon. Each of these places is named after the head who ruleth over it. They say that in each of these places they who win to them

The Huge Stone Bull at Tanjore

The bull, usually called Nandi, is the sacred animal of the god Siva, or Mahadeva, among the Hindus. One of the most famous images of Siva's bull is the great stone idol at Tanjore in Southern India. This massive figure of black granite, sixteen feet long and twelve feet high, is an object of pious veneration to countless numbers of faithful Hindus.

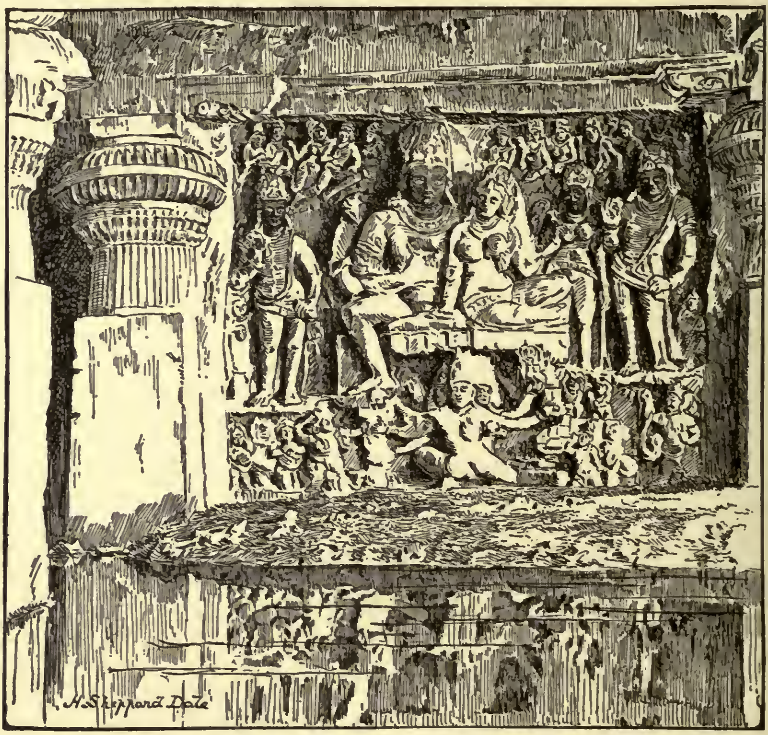


enjoy such beatitude that they wish none better, and even that each one deemeth his own place to be the best. But besides these seven, which are all comprised under the general name Dewendre-locon or Surgam (Sanskrit *svarga*, "heaven"), is Bramma-locon, that is, the place where Bramma (Brahma) is, which place seemeth to be nighest of all unto heaven. They who come thither may also return to this world after that a certain space of years is passed; but these, when they have come again to this world and have lived their time here, then win indubitably to heaven itself, where they abide for ever without returning again to this world.

They that dwell in Surgam call themselves Dewetaes (Sanskrit *dēvatā*, "divinity") and are of two sorts. Some abide there for a time and may come again to this world to be reborn; and they believe concerning these that they enjoy all bliss and sleep with women, but without having children. And since that death may not be known in Surgam, therefore they do believe that these Dewetaes, when their time of biding there is lapsed, are thrust out of Surgam with soul and body, and that the soul then passeth into another body and leaveth that in which it was; but the Bramin wot not to say where that the body abode wherewith the Deweta was thrust out of Surgam. Moreover, there be also Dewetaes in Surgam who abide there eternally, since there be the sun, the moon, the stars, and the like. These also beget children who dwell in Surgam. They believe that no sin is done in Surgam, but that God

Himself sometimes appeareth unto them and teacheth them.

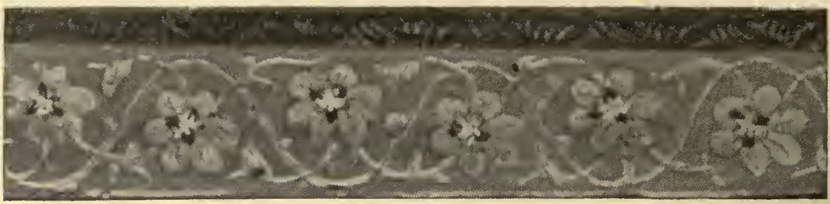
But the most blessed of all them that pass from this world are they who receive for their lot Weicontam



SCULPTURES OF THE HINDU DIVINITIES SIVA AND PARVATI, AT ELLORA.

(Sanskrit *Vāikuntha,* "Vishnu's heaven"), that is, heaven itself. Nevertheless, it must be known that the Bramines say that Weicontam is twofold: one, Lila-Weicontam, that is, the sportful heaven; and a heaven which they call simply Weicontam, where God Himself hath His abode. The Bramin Padmanaba said that it was disputed mightily among the Bramines whether

they that come unto Lila-Weicontam may return again to this world; some say "nay," and some "yea." Concerning the heaven which is hight simply Weicontam, therein are they completely in accord that they who win there return not to this world, but that they there enjoy eternal beatitude. This Weicontam they promise to them that serve Wistnou loyally ever and in all things; but they that are deficient and do this only in part shall, they say, win Surgam. Nevertheless, they believe that there be few who so order their life that after death they win to Weicontam, but that Surgam is commonly the lot and portion, even of the best among them.'



AN INDIAN DECORATIVE DESIGN.

CHAPTER IX

A DESCRIPTION OF BENGAL BY THE FRENCH VOYAGER FRANÇOIS PYRARD DE LAVAL

1607 A. D.

THE interest of France in India, like that of Portugal, Holland, and England, led to expeditions for the purpose of trade and settlement in Hindustan, and among the most interesting accounts of India at the opening of the seventeenth century is that given by François Pyrard of Laval, who set out for the Orient in 1601 and spent nearly ten years in travelling in the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas, and various parts of India, returning to his home in 1611. In the account of his travels, Pyrard devotes considerable space to places along the coast of India, including the district of Bengal, where he spent a month. In spite of the fact that he complains of the shortness of his sojourn in Bengal, he has given a good account of the country, as will be seen in the following selection from Albert Gray's translation for the Hakluyt Society.

'After a month's voyage, we arrived at Chartican (Chittagong, properly Chatigam), a port of the kingdom

INDIA'S GREAT MOUNTAIN BARRIER ON THE NORTH.

of Bengal, where we were received by the inhabitants with much rejoicing. On landing, they took me with them to salute the king, who is not, however, the great king of Bengal, but a petty king of this province, or rather a governor, with the title of king, as is generally the case in those parts. The great king of Bengal lives higher up the country, thirty or forty leagues off. On being presented to this petty king, he received me with great kindness, and gave me my full liberty, saying that if I would remain with him he would do great things for me: and, indeed, he bade bring me raiment and food day by day in great abundance. But after a month's sojourn there I found a ship of Calicut, whose master asked if I would go with him, saying that the Hollander's ships often came to Calicut, and there might be some in which I could get a passage to France, since I was minded to return thither; whereto I gladly agreed, seeing I had no other aim but that, and on that score I declined all other favours. I therefore took my leave of the king, which was granted me without difficulty.

I was so short a time in Bengal, that I cannot record many of its characteristics; however, here is what I picked up.

The kingdom of Bengal is of great extent; it lies in the middle country of the Indies, and is said to be four hundred leagues in length, so the king is the most puissant prince in India, after the grand Mogor. About the time I left, the Mogor had declared war against him, and the king was preparing to receive him with

more than two hundred thousand men and ten thousand elephants. He has many tributary kings: for instance, the kings of Aracan, of Chaul,[1] and other great lords, as well Mohammedan as Gentile, who are bound to furnish him, when he goes out to war, with a certain number of men, elephants, and horses. They also pay him tribute for such harbours as they have in their territories; and at all of these a great trade is carried on in all sorts of merchandise, the merchants exporting large quantities of goods, by reason whereof they dare not risk the loss of this king's good-will.

The country is healthy and temperate, and so wondrous fertile that one lives there for almost nothing; and there is such a quantity of rice, that, besides supplying the whole country, it is exported to all parts of India, as well to Goa and Malabar, as to Sumatra, the Moluccas, and all the islands of Sunda, to all of which lands Bengal is a very nursing mother, who supplies them with their entire subsistence and food. Thus, one sees arrive there every day an infinite number of vessels from all parts of India for these provisions; and I believe it would be still greater, were not the navigation so perilous by reason of the banks and shallows wherewith all this Gulf of Bengal is full. So it happens that when the Bengal ships are behind their time, or are lost, rice is fabulously dear, and there is a cry, as it were, of the extremity of famine. On the contrary, when the navigation is good, the rice is as cheap as if it grew in the country, and fetches no more

[1] Possibly the district of the Chaul Khoya River, Assam.

than four deniers the pound. The country is well supplied with animals, such as oxen, cows, and sheep; flesh

THE IRAWADDY, WHICH EMPTIES INTO THE GULF OF BENGAL.

is accordingly very cheap, let alone milk-foods and butter, whereof they have such an abundance that they

supply the rest of India; and pile carpets of various kinds, which they weave with great skill.

There are many good fruits,—not, however, cocos or bananas; plenty of citrons, limes, oranges, pomegranates, cajus, pineapples, etc., ginger, long pepper, of which, in the green state, they make a great variety of preserves, as also of lemons and oranges. The country abounds with sugar-cane, which they eat green or else make into excellent sugar for a cargo to their ships, the like not being made in any part of India except in Cambaye and the other countries of the Mogor adjacent to Bengal, these countries being of the same climate, language, and fertility. There is likewise exported from Bengal much scented oils, got from a certain grain, and divers flowers; these are used by all the Indians after bathing to rub their bodies withal. Cotton is so plentiful, that, after providing for the uses and clothing of the natives, and besides exporting the raw material, they make such a quantity of cotton cloths, and so excellently woven, that these articles are exported, and thence only, to all India, but chiefly to the parts about Sunda. Likewise is there plenty of silk, as well that of the silkworm as of the (silk) herb, which is of the brightest yellow colour, and brighter than silk itself; of this they make many stuffs of divers colours, and export them to all parts. The inhabitants, both men and women, are wondrously adroit in all manufactures, such as of cotton cloth and silks, and in needlework, such as embroideries, which are worked so skilfully, down to the smallest stitches, that nothing

The Temple of the God Vishnu at Conjevaram.

prettier is to be seen anywhere. Some of these cottons and silks are so fine that it is difficult to say whether a person so attired be clothed or nude. Many other kinds of work, such as furniture and vessels, are constructed with extraordinary delicacy, which, if brought here, would be said to come from China.

In this country is made a large quantity of small black and red pottery, like the finest and most delicate terre sigillée; in this they do a great trade, chiefly in gargoulettes (earthenware vessels) and drinking-vessels and other utensils. There is a great quantity, too, of huge reeds or canes, as big as a man's thigh, and six or seven fathoms high, hollow inside, and knotted like those here. They are harder to break than any wood in the world; of these, levers and rods are made to carry over the heaviest weights, and are used throughout India, even at Goa and elsewhere: so much so, that the Portuguese and the Indians use no other poles for their palanquins and litters: these are everywhere called Bambou (bamboo). When one of these is bent into any required curve and heated, it remains so always, and will sooner break than lose its curve. Of these, too, are made their measures for measuring all their goods, such as rice, grain, oil, butter, and the like. Measures of all sizes are made of them. These reeds grow in quantity elsewhere in India; but this is their original home, and here they are found in greatest plenty. These canes will not bend double; and they are mottled black and white. There is another kind, of a different shape and thickness, the largest of this

sort being no more than four thumbs' girth, and very tall. It is porous, hard, and very pliant, so that you can

GIANT BAMBOOS.

bring the two ends together without its breaking, and yet it is very strong; of this are made walking-sticks and canes for chastisement; they raise the skin wherever they fall, but never break it, however tender it

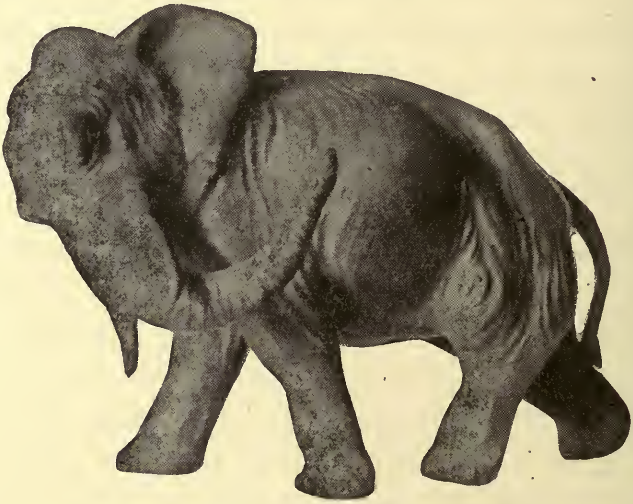
may be. They are neatly shaped, and are naturally of a mottled colour, white, yellow, and black. There is a great trade in them to all parts of India, for they are found nowhere else. By rubbing hard two sticks of this cane together, fire is produced as from a match; and they are used for this purpose. There is yet another sort of cane, which never grows thicker than the little finger, of the same form and growth as the other; it is as pliant as an osier, and is called Rotan (rattan). Ships' cables are made of it, and many kinds of neatly plaited baskets, and other wicker things. In short, it is used as cord, and can be split into any number of strips. It is a fathom and a half in length. It is trafficked in everywhere, and is in great demand for its use in manufacture; it is white, and not mottled.

This country abounds with elephants, which are exported hence to all parts of India. There are rhinoceroses also, and some say unicorns, too, which are said to be found in this land only. They say other animals will not drink at a well until a female unicorn has steeped her horn in the water, so they all wait on the bank till she comes and does so.

In short, I find no country in all the East Indies more abundantly supplied with all things needful for food, with the riches of nature and art; and were not the navigation so dangerous, it would be the fairest, most pleasant, fertile, and profitable in the whole world. They usually keep an ambassador at Goa; but when I was preparing to leave Goa to come home, there arrived an ambassador extraordinary at the court of the

viceroy, and it was said that he had come to ask some assistance.

One of the greatest trades in Bengal is in slaves; for there is a certain land subject to this king where fathers sell their children, and give them to the king



FROM A STATUETTE OF AN INDIAN ELEPHANT.

as tribute; so most of the slaves in India are got from hence. Nowhere in India are slaves of so little value, for they are all old and knavish villains, both men and women. The people are well formed in body, the women are pretty, but more shameless than elsewhere in India. The men are much given to trafficking in merchandise, and not to war or arms, — a soft, courteous, clever people, but having the repute of great cheats, thieves, and liars. They trade in many places, making long voyages; so do many strangers frequent their country, for example, Persians, Arabs, and the

Portuguese merchants of Goa and Cochin. Under the government of this king are men of many religions, Jews, Mohammedans, and Gentiles, or pagans, these latter showing as great a diversity of ceremonies as of countries and provinces. The great king is a pagan; he of Chartican, whom I saw, was a Mohammedan.

The Gentile people of this Bengal country have for their pagoda, or idol, a white elephant; it is but rarely met with, and is deemed sacred. The kings worship it, and even go to war to get it from their neighbours, not having one themselves, and sometimes grand battles are fought on this score.

As for dress, the men attire themselves bravely with very large cotton shirts, which fall to the ground; over it is worn a silk mantle, and on the head a turban of very fine linen. The women wear little chemisettes of cotton or silk, reaching to the waist; round the rest of the body is thrown a cloth or taffetas; when they go abroad, they wear about that a large piece of silk, with one end brought over the head. They are disorderly and very barbarous in their eating and drinking; they have many servants, and have each three or four wives, very richly adorned with gold chains and pearls. They make wines of sugar and other materials, and get drunk therewith. A large number of Portuguese dwell in freedom at the ports on this coast of Bengal; they are also very free in their lives, being like exiles. They do only traffic, without any fort, order, or police, and live like natives of the country; they durst not return to India, for certain misdeeds they have committed, and

they have no clergy among them. There is one of them named Jean Garie, who is greatly obeyed by the rest; he commands more than ten thousand men for the King of Bengal, yet he makes not war against the Portuguese, seeing they are friends.

In this land is the great river Ganga, otherwise called the Ganges, the most renowned in the world.

THE BANK OF THE GANGES AT BENARES.

The natives hold that it comes from the Earthly Paradise; their kings have been curious to have its source discovered, but they have never discovered it, for all their journeys and expense. Its mouth is at twenty-three degrees from the equinoctial, toward our pole; but whether this is the famous Ganges of the ancients, or that of Canton in China, as some will have it nowadays, I leave to the discussion and decision of the learned in such things; anyhow, the common opinion of the Portuguese and many others is that this is the

true Ganges; if its situation does not correspond, at least its name does. From this river comes that excellent wood called Calamba (aloes-wood), which is believed to come from the Earthly Paradise. It is very dear throughout India, and more esteemed than any other, being more rare and odoriferous; very little of it is found, and then it comes floating to the seashore, or the banks of the river; it is also found on the shores of the Maldives, and I have met with it there many a time.

This river breeds also a large number of crocodiles, and is marvellously rich in fish; in short, it is the wealthiest in all produce in the East Indies, and after it comes the Indus, the river of Surate and Cambaye.

The Indians regard the Ganges as holy, and believe that when they have washed therein they are absolved of all their sins; and Mohammedans as well as Gentiles deem the water to be blessed, and to wash away all offences, just as we regard confession. They, however, believe that, after bathing there, they are altogether sanctified, even saints. And they come from afar to wash them there, as do the Mohammedans at the sepulchre of Mohammed at Mecca. This is all I was able to observe of this kingdom during the short time I was there.'

CHAPTER X

THE ITALIAN TRAVELLER PIETRO DELLA VALLE'S DESCRIPTION OF AHMADABAD

1623 A.D.

AMONG the best-known names of all the European travellers who have left accounts of their journeys in the East is that of Pietro della Valle the Italian, who spent more than ten years, from 1614 to 1628, visiting various lands of the Orient—Turkey, Egypt, Palestine, Persia, and India. The account of his wanderings, written in the form of letters to a friend, was published in 1650 - 1663, long after his return, and was translated from Italian into English in 1664, more than a decade after his death. Almost every page of his journal contains matters of interest and value, as is manifest from his notes on "Ahmedabad" (Ahmadabad).

'About noon, having travell'd twelve, or, as others said, fourteen Cos, we arriv'd at Ahmedabad, and our journey from Cambaia hither was always with our Faces toward the northeast. Being entred into the City, which is competently large, with great suburbs, we went directly to alight at the house of the English Merchants, till other lodgings were prepared for us,

where also we din'd with them. After which we retir'd to one of the houses which stand in the street, which they call Terzi (Darzi) Carvanserai, that is the Tayler's Inn. For you must know that the Carvanserai, or Inns, in Ahmedabad, and other Great Cities of India, are not, as in Persia and Turkey, one single habitation, made in form of a great Cloyster, with abundance of Lodgings round about, separate one from another, for quartering of strangers; but they are whole great streets of the City destinated for strangers to dwell in, and whosoever is minded to hire a house; and because these streets are lockt up in the night time for security of the persons and goods which are there, therefore they call them Carvanserai. Notwithstanding the wearisomness of our journey, because we were to stay but a little while at Ahmedabad, therefore after a little rest we went the same evening to view the market-place, buying sundry things. It displeas'd me sufficiently that the streets not being well pav'd, although they are large, fair and strait, yet through the great dryness of the earth they are so dusty that there's almost no going afoot, because the foot sinks very deep in the ground with great defilement; and the going on horseback, or in a coach, is likewise very troublesome in regard of the dust, a thing indeed of great disparagement to so goodly and great a city as this is. I saw in Ahmedabad roses, flowers of jasmin and other sorts, and divers such fruits as we have in our countries in the summer; whence I imagin'd, that probably, we had repass'd the Tropick of Cancer, and re-enter'd a little

into the Temperate Zone; which doubt I could not clear for want of my astrolabe, which I had left with my other goods at Surat.

On Tuesday following, which to us was the day of Carnoval, or Shrove Tuesday, walking in the morning about the town, I saw a handsome street, straight, long and very broad, full of shops of various trades; they call it *Bezari Kelan* (Bazar-i *Kalān*), that is, the Great Merkat (Market), in distinction from others than which this is bigger. In the middle is a structure of stone athwart the street, like a bridge with three arches, almost resembling the triumphal arches of Rome. A good way beyond this bridge, in the middle of the same is a great well, round about which is built a square piazetta, a little higher than the ground. The water of the well is of great service to all the city, and there is always a great concourse of people who come to fetch it.

PIETRO DELLA VALLE.
After an old woodcut.

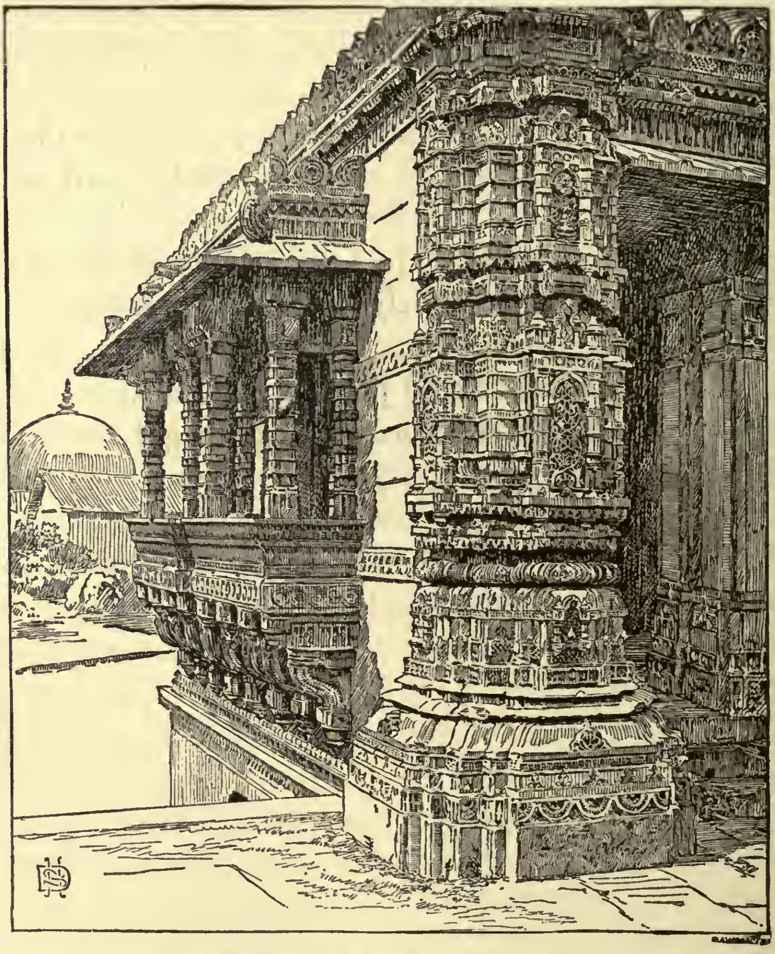
Going forwards to the end of the market, we came to the great gate which stands confronting the street, and beautifi'd with many ornaments between two goodly towers; 'tis the Gate of a small castle, which they call by the Persian word *Cut* (*Khat*). Nor let it seem

strange that in India, in the countries of the Moghol, the Persian tongue is us'd more perhaps than the Indian itself, since the Mogholian princes being originally Tartars, and of Samarkand, where the Persian is the natural tongue of the country, have therefore been willing to retain their native speech in India; in brief, the Persian is the language of the Moghol's court, most spoken and us'd in all publick writings.

Near this castle gate, in a void place of the street are two pulpits handsomely built of stone, somewhat rais'd from the ground, wherein 'tis the Custome to read the king's commandments publickly, when they are to be proclaim'd. Thence turning to the right hand, and passing another great gate, and through a fair street we came to the royal palace; for Ahmedabad is one of the four cities,[1] amongst all the others of his dominions, where the Grand Moghol by particular privilege hath a palace and a court; and accordingly he comes sometimes to reside there. This palace hath a great square court, surrounded with white and well polish'd walls. In the midst stands a high post to shoot at with arrows, as is also usual in the piazzas of Persia. On the left side of the court as you go in are the king's lodgings, a small and low building. What 'tis within side I know not, for I enter'd not into it; but without 'tis as follows. Under the king's windows is a square place inclos'd with a rail of colour'd wood, and the pavement somewhat rais'd; within which, if the king is there, are wont to stand certain officers of the militia,

[1] The other three cities being Agra, Mandu, and Lahore.

whom they call Mansubdar,[1] and they are almost the same with our Colonels; their Command extends not



A CORNER OF RANI SIPRI'S MOSQUE AT AHMADABAD (1431 A.D.).

to above a thousand horse; nor are they all equal, but from a thousand downwards some have more, some less, under them. Within this inclosure of the Man-

[1] Properly *Mansabdār;* on these officers see vol. iv, p. 32.

subdary, under the king's balconies, stand two carv'd elephants of emboss'd work, but not large, painted with their natural colours; and in the front of the royal lodgings are other such ornaments, after their mode, of little consideration. Some said that a while ago in one of the Balconies stood expos'd to publick view an image of the Virgin Mary, plac'd there by Sciah Selim, who, they say, was devoted to her, and to whom perhaps it was given by one of our priests, who frequent this court out of a desire to draw him to the Christian faith; but the image was not there now, and possibly was taken away by Sultan Chorrom his Son (reported an enemy of the Christians and their affairs) since his coming to the government of those parts of Guzarat. The station of the greater captains, and of higher dignity than the Mansubdary, as the Chans and others of that rank, is in the king's balconies, or near hand above there within the rooms. The inferior souldiers, that is such as have onely two or three horses, stand upon the ground in the court without the above mention'd inclosure. In the front of the court is another building, with an inclosure also before it, but less adorn'd; 'tis the place where the king's guard stands with all its captains; and the same order, I believe, is always observed in the Moghol's court, in whatsoever place or city he happens to be. Within this court is another on the left hand, surrounded with other buildings for necessary offices, but not so well built nor polish'd.

Having seen what we could of the royal palace, we

return'd by the same way we came to the street of the great market. From whence we went to see a famous temple of Mahedeu, to which there is hourly a great concourse of people, and the street which leads to it is always full, not onely of goers and comers to the

THE RIVER SABARMATI AT AHMADABAD.
Near its bank is an old temple of Mahadeva, or Siva.

temple, but also of beggars who stand here and there asking alms of those that pass by. The building of this temple is small, the entrance narrow and very low, almost under ground; for you descend by many steps, and you would think you were rather going into a grotto than into a temple, and hence there is always a great crowd there. On high hung a great number of bells, which are rung every moment with great noise by those who come to worship. Within the temple continually stand many naked Gioghi, having onely their

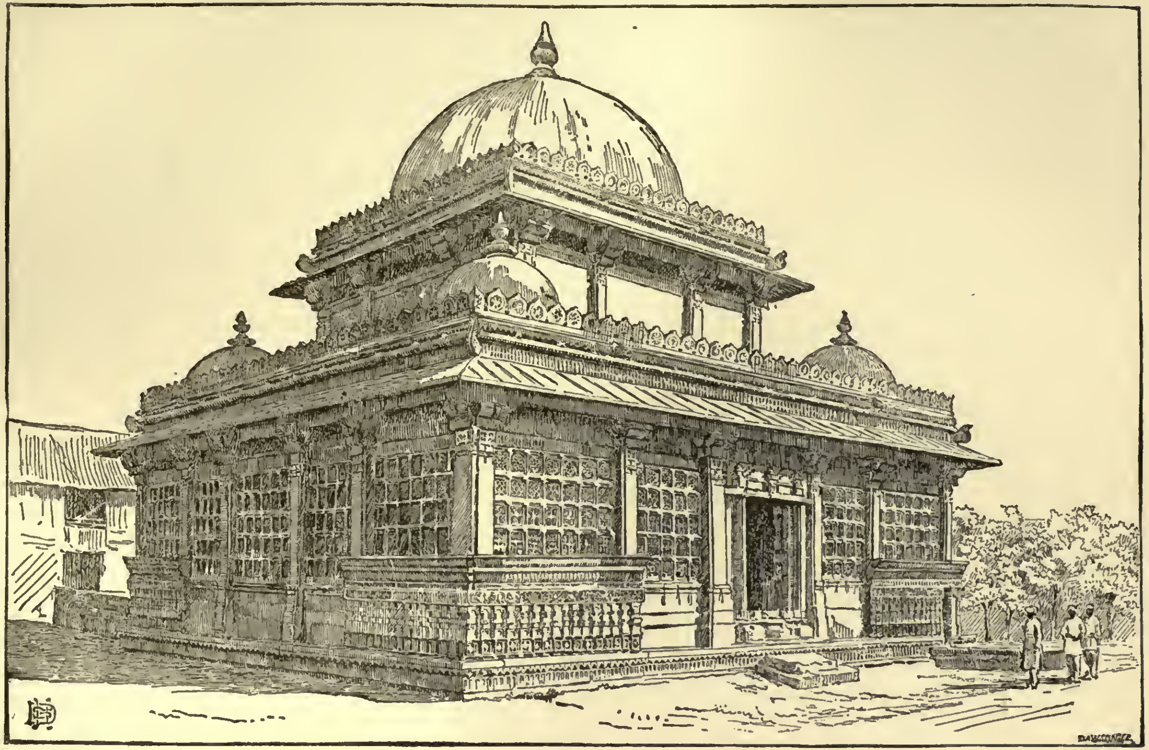
privities (not very well) cover'd with a cloth; they wear long hair dishevel'd, dying their fore-heads with spots of sanders, saffron, and other colours suitable to their superstitious ceremonies. The rest of their bodies is clean and smooth, without any tincture or impurity; which I mention as a difference from some other Gioghi, whose bodies are all smear'd with colours and ashes, as I shall relate hereafter. There is no doubt but these are the ancient Gymnosophists so famous in the world, and, in short, those very Sophists who then went naked and exercis'd great patience in sufferings, to whom Alexander the Great sent Onesicritus to consult with them, as Strabo reports from the testimony of the same Onesicritus.[1] Many of them stood in the temple near the idols, which were plac'd in the innermost penetral, or chancel of it, with many candles and lamps burning before them. The idols were two stones, somewhat long, like two small *termini*, or land-marks, painted with their wonted colours; on the right side whereof was a stone cut into a figure, and on the left another of that ordinary form of a small pillar, according to which as I said before that they use to shape Mahedeu. And before all these another like figure of Mahedeu, made of crystal, upon which the offerings were lay'd, as milk, oyle, rice and divers such things. The assistant Gioghi give every one that comes to worship some of the flowers, which are strew'd upon and round about the idols, receiving in lieu thereof good summs of alms.

Coming out of this temple, and ascending up the

[1] See pages 54-57 of this volume.

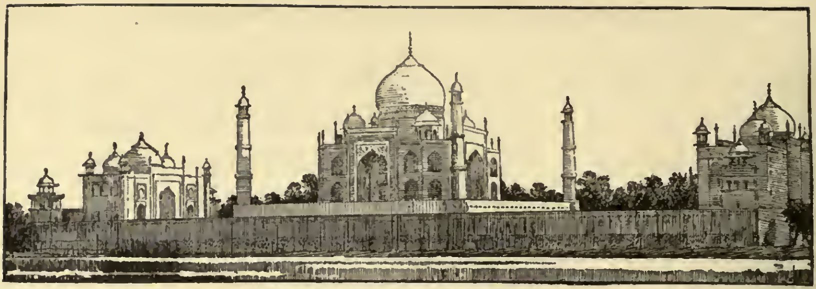
wall of the city which is hard by, we beheld from that height the little river call'd Sabermeti (Sabarmati), which runs on that side under the walls without the city. Upon the bank thereof, stood expos'd to the sun many Gioghi of more austere lives, namely such as are not onely naked like those above describ'd, but go all sprinkled with ashes, and paint their bodies and faces with a whitish colour upon black, which they do with a certain stone that is reduced into powder like lime.[1] Their beards and hair they wear long, untrim'd, rudely involv'd, and sometimes erected like horns. Painted they are often, or rather daub'd with sundry colours and hideous figures; so that they seem so many devils, like those represented in our comedies. The ashes wherewith they sprinkle their bodies are the ashes of burnt carkasses; and this to the end they may be continually mindful of death. A great crew of these, with their chief, or leader (who conducts them with an extravagant banner in his hand, made of many shreds of several colours, and whom they all religiously obey) sat by the river's side in a round form, as their custom is; and in the field there were many people, who came some to walk, and others to wash themselves; the pagan Indians holding their rivers in great veneration, and being not a little superstitious in bathing themselves therein. From the same place I beheld a little chappel built upon two small figures of Mahadeu, not upright, but lying along upon the ground, and carv'd in basse relief, where also were lamps burning, and people mak-

[1] This powder is made from burned shells.



RANI SIPRI'S TOMB AT AHMADABAD.

ing their offerings. One of the Gioghi, laying aside all other care, remain'd continually in this chappel with great retiredness and abstraction of mind, scarce ever coming forth, although it was very troublesome abiding there, in regard to the heat of the lights, and inconvenient too, by reason the chappel was so little that it could scarce contain him alone as he sat upon the pavement (which was somewhat rais'd from the Earth) with his leggs doubled under him and almost crooked. Returning home by the same way of the great Bazar, or Market, I saw carvanserai, or inns, made with cloysters like those of Persia; one greater and square of the ordinary form, and another less, narrow and long. Of divers other streets, in which I saw nothing observable, I forbear to speak.'



THE TAJ MAHAL AT AGRA.

CHAPTER XI

SIR THOMAS ROE'S FIRST AUDIENCE WITH THE GREAT MOGUL

SIR THOMAS ROE is one of the most distinguished and picturesque figures in the history of international diplomacy, and his presence at the court of Jahangir, the Great Mogul, as accredited ambassador of King James of England, gained advantages for England that were of the greatest value, as has been pointed out in a previous volume (vol. iv, pp. 67-79). His diary is well known, but its value consists in its record of court life at the Moghul capital, and not in its meagre account of the country in general. An event of great import for English history was the meeting of Sir Thomas, as a royal envoy, with the Great Mogul. Roe had been seriously ill at Ajmir, but the emperor was so desirous of seeing him that he sent a special messenger to inquire whether his condition would not allow him to come to court. The emperor gave strict orders to his messenger and, as Roe says, "chardged him to see mee, so that I was forced to admitt him into my Chamber, wher he saw my weaknes and gave sat-

isfaction to the king." This was on December 31, 1615, and on the following day, New Year's, Sir Thomas opens his diary as follows:

'January 1-4, 1616.—I began to recouer and sitt vp.

January 5.—Master Edwardes departed for Suratt.

January 6-9.—I prepared to see the king.

January 10.—I went to Court at 4 in the euening to the Durbar, which is the Place wher the Mogull sitts out daylie, to entertayne strangers, to receiue petitions and presents, to giue Commandes, to see, and to bee seene. To digresse a little from my reception, and declare the Customes of the Court, will enlighten the future discourse. The king hath no man but Eunuchs that Comes within the lodgings or retyring roomes of his house: His weomen watch within, and guard him with manly weapons. They doe Justice on vpon another for offences. He comes every Morning to a wyndow called the Jarruco looking into a playne before his gate, and showes him selfe to the Common People. At noone hee returns thither and sitts some howers to see the fight of Eliphants and willd beasts; vnder him within a rayle attend the men of rancke; from whence hee retiers to sleepe among his woemen. At afternoone he returnes to the Durbar before mentioned. At 8 after supper he Comes downe to the Gazelcan, a faire Court, wher in the middest is a Throune erected of free stone wherein he sitts, but some tymes below in a Chayre; to which are none admitted but of great qualetye, and few of these without leaue; wher he discourses of all matters with much Affabilitye. Ther

is noe busines done with him Concerning the state, gouerment, disposition of warr or peace, but at one of these two last Places, wher it is publiquely propounded, and resolued, and soe registred, which if it were woorth the Curiositye might bee seene for two shillings, but the Common basse people knew as much as the Councell, and the Newes euery day is the kings new resolutions tossed and censured by euery rascall. This Course is vnchangeable, except sicknes or drinck preuent yt; which must be known, for as all his Subjects are slaues, so is he in a kynd of reciprocall bondage, for he is tyed to obserue these howres and Customes so precisely that if hee were vnseene one day and noe sufficient reason rendred the people would mutinie; two dayes noe reason can excuse, but that he must consent to open his doores and bee seene by some to satisfye others. On Tuesday at the Jarruco he sitts in Judgment, neuer refusing the poorest mans Complaynt, where hee heares with Patience both parts: and some tymes sees with too much delight in blood the execution done by his Eliphants. Illi meruere; sed quid tu vt adesses?

SIR THOMAS ROE, AMBASSADOR TO THE GREAT MOGUL.

At the Durbar I was led right before him, at the enterance of an outward rayle, where mett mee two Principall Noble slaues to conduct mee nearer. I had required before my going leaue to vse the Customes of my Country, which was freely granted, soe that I would performe them Punctually. When I entred within the first rayle I made a reuerance; entering in the inward rayle a Nother; and when I came vnder the king a theird. The Place is a great Court, whither resort all sorts of people. The king sitts in a little Gallery ouer head; Ambassidors, the great men and strangers of qualety within the inmost rayle vnder him, raysed from the ground, Couered with Canopyes of veluet and silke, vnder foote layd with good Carpetts; the Meaner men representing gentry within the first rayle, the people without in a base Court, but soe that all may see the king. This sitting out hath soe much affinitye with a Theatre—the manner of the king in his gallery; The great men lifted on a stage as actors; the vulgar below gazing on—that an easy description will informe of the place and fashion. The king preuented my dull enterpreter, bidding me welcome as to the brother of my Master. I deliuered his Majesties lettre translated; and after my Commission, wheron hee looked Curiously; after, my presents, which were well receiued. He asked some questions, and with a seeming Care of my health, offering me his Phisitions, and aduising mee to keepe my house till I had recouered strength; and if in the interim I needed anything I should freely send to him, and obteyne my desiers. He dismissed me with

more fauour and outward grace (if by the Christians I were not flattered) then euer was showed to any Ambassador, eyther of the Turke or Persian, or other whatsoeuer.

January 12.—Hee sent a gentellman for my Commission to show his queene the seale, which he kept one night, and returned yt with such care that the bringer durst not deliuer it but to my owne handes.

January 14.—I sent to the Prince Sultan Coronne, his third sonne by byrth but first in fauour, that I determined to visitt him, not doubting that he would vse me with due respect; for I was enformed he was enemy to all Christians and therfore feared some affront. He answered I should be welcome, and receiue the same Content I had from his father. Hee is lord of Suratt, our cheefe residence, and his fauour important for us.

January 15 - 21.—These Dayes I stirred not abroad, the king and Prince beeing often a hunting, from whom I receiued two wild hoggs, part of their quarry.

January 22.—I visited the Prince, who at 9 in the Morning sitts out in the same manner as his father, to dispatch his business and to be seene of his followers. He is Proud Naturally, and I feard my entertaynment. But on some occasion he not resoluing to come out, when he heard of my arriuall, sent a Principall Officer to meete mee, who conducted mee into a good Roome (neuer before done to any), and entertayning me with discourse of our own business halfe an hower vntill the Prince was ready; who came abroad on purpose and

vsed me better then his promise. I deliuered him a Present, such as I had, but not in the name of his Majestie, it beeing too meane; but excused it that the king could not take knowledge of his beeing lord of Suratt so lately conferred on him, but hereafter I doubted not his Majestie would send to him according

THE MOGHUL EMPEROR JAHANGIR AND HIS SON, PRINCE KHURRAM, AFTERWARDS SHAH JAHAN.
From an old print.

to his woorth: This was the respect of the Merchants, who humbly recommended themselues to his fauour and protection. He receiued all in very good part; and after opening of some greauances and Iniuries suffered at Suratt by vs from his Gouernors, of which, for respect to him, I had forborne to Complayne to the king off, He promised mee speedy and effectuall Justice, and to confirme our securytye by any propositions I

should offer; professing to be ignorant of anything past, but what hee had receiued by Asaph Chan deliuered by mee; especially of any Command to dismisse us, which the Gouernor had falsly Coyned and for which he should dearly answer. Soe he dismissed mee full of hope to rectifye the decayed estate of our reputation, with promise of a firmaen for Suratt effectually.

January 24.—I went to the Durbar to visitt the King, who, seeing mee afarr off, beckned with his hand, giuing signe I should not staye the Cerimony of Asking leaue but Come vp to him; where hee appoynted me a place aboue all other men, which I after thought fitt to mayntayne. I gaue him a small present, it beeing the Custome when any body hath business to giue somewhat, and those that cannot come neare to speake send in or hould up their guift, which hee eccepts, bee it but a rupie, and demands their bussines. The same course hee held with mee. Having looked Curiously and asked many questions of my present, he demanded what I required of him. I answered: Justice: That, on the assurance of his Majesties Firmaen sent into England, the king my Master had not only giuen leaue to many of his subjects to come a dangerous voyadge with their goodes, but had sent mee to Congratulate the amytye so happely begunne betweene two soe mighty Nations, and to Confirme the same: But that I found the English seated at Amadauas[1] enjured by the Gouernor in their Persons and goodes, fined, exacted upon, and kept as prisoners: That at euerie Towne new Cus-

[1] Ahmadabad.

tomes were taken of our goodes passing to the Port, contrarie to all Iustice and the former Articles of trade. To which hee answered hee was sorry; it should be amended; and presently gaue order for two firmanes very effectually according to my desire to be signed, one to the Gouernor of Amadavaz to restore mony exacted from Master Kerridge, and to vse the English with all fauour. The other to release all Custumes required on any pretence on the way, or if any had beene taken to repay it; of his owne accord wishing mee that, if these gaue not speedy remedy, I should renew my Complaynt against the disobeyour, and hee should be sent for to answer there. And soe hee dismissed mee.'

CHAPTER XII

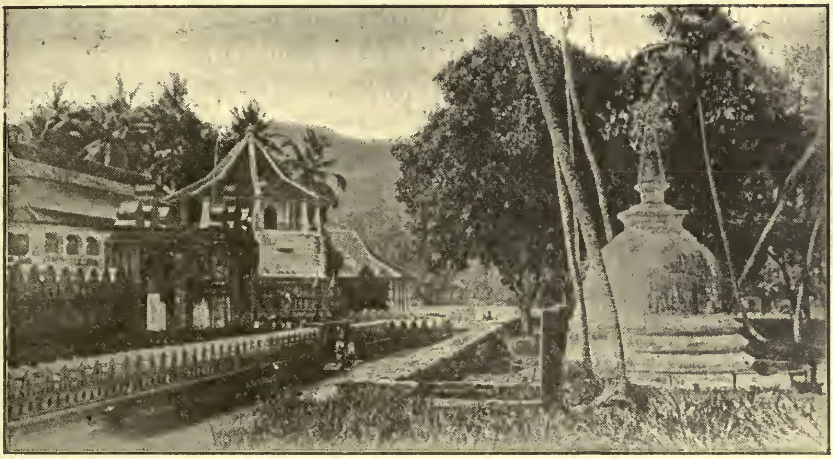
FRANCKLIN'S NOTES ON CEYLON AND ON SOUTHERN AND WESTERN INDIA

1786 A. D.

THE following descriptive notes are taken from the diary of the English ensign William Francklin, of the East India Company's service, who visited Southern India on his way by sea from Bengal to Persia in 1786. Francklin touched at Point de Galle, Ceylon, on March 24th, and proceeded thence along the Malabar coast and the western shores of India, making stops at Anjengo in the district of Travancore, at Cochin and Tellicherri in Malabar, at Goa, and at Bombay. His observations give us a view of these places at the close of the eighteenth century.

'Point de Galle is a small fort, situated on the southwest side of the island of Ceylon, belonging to the Dutch East India Company, and has a commandant and a small military force. The commandant is subject to the orders of the governor of Colombo, the chief residency on the same island; the inhabitants, excepting the Dutch, are a mixture of Malabars and native Portuguese, but great numbers of the latter, especially of the lower class of people. There is a tolerable tavern

here, the only one in the place; the living very cheap. There is little trade at this place, excepting on account of the Dutch Company. Topazes, amethysts, and other precious stones are found on the island of Ceylon and brought here for sale; but it is dangerous to purchase them, when set, without being skilled in those commodities, the people who sell them being very expert



TEMPLE OF THE HOLY TOOTH OF BUDDHA AT KANDY, CEYLON.

in making the false stones appear like true ones, by colouring them at the bottom. No kind of spice, nutmegs, or any other rarities for which this island is so celebrated, are to be met with at this place; nor did we, on our approach to the island, perceive any of those odoriferous gales described by travellers as exhaling from the cinnamon and other spices with which this island abounds. The harbour is circular; at the entrance of it lie many rocks, just above the surface of the water, which make it very dangerous for strange ships to go in without a pilot; the waves beat with

amazing violence against the fortifications. Along and almost all around the harbour are the country homes of the inhabitants, which have a pleasing effect to the eye; the road to these by land is through a grove of cocoanut-trees, which forms an agreeable shade. However, this place must be very unhealthy, as very high hills lie close behind the houses and exhale noxious vapours both morning and evening, which make it very precarious to the inhabitants in point of health; they are in general sickly, but particularly the Europeans. I observed in the course of a few hours' stay on shore several people whose legs were swelled in a most extraordinary manner; this the natives account for from the badness of the water and the vapours which arise from the adjoining hills. I have heard that the inhabitants of Malacca are liable to the same disease and from similar causes.

Fish is to be had here in great plenty; poultry of all kinds is very scarce; the fruits are chiefly plantains, pineapples, and pumple noses; the cocoa-nuts are also in great plenty and very good; the bread is tolerable, but the butter execrable, it being little better than train oil; and indeed this is the case in all the Dutch settlements and most other foreign ones, the French and English excepted. We slept on shore that night, and, not being able to sell any part of the cargo, the next morning went on board and sailed immediately. On the 29th of March we saw the land a little to the eastward of Cape Comorin, and the 31st of March came to anchor in the roads of Anjengo, where we found

the Company's ship, the *Duke of Montrose*, waiting for a cargo of pepper. On the 1st of April went on shore at daylight, and returned on board in the evening.

Anjengo is a small fort and English residency, the first that you arrive at upon the Malabar coast from Cape Comorin; the inhabitants are Malabars and native

A RUINED SHRINE AT POLLONARUA IN CEYLON.

Portuguese, mixed. It is reported to be one of the first places in India for intelligence, and the English have received great service from it in that respect during the late war; it would be still more advantageous if the road to Europe by way of Suez was open, but that has been for some time shut up, on account of some unhappy differences. At Anjengo there is a post to several parts of India; this is but lately established. On the 2d of April, sailed; 6th, saw a ship at anchor in Cochin roads, which we could not enter, being driven

off by the most violent gale of wind I ever experienced; it lasted six-and-thirty hours without cessation, the sea running mountains high. Fortunately the ship received no damage, excepting the loss of the main-yard, which was broken in two. On the 8th we found ourselves, by observation, to the northward of our port, and on the 9th, came to anchor in Cochin roads, and went on shore immediately.

Cochin is a large settlement belonging to the Dutch East India Company. It is very populous and a place of great trade; the inhabitants are a mixture of a variety of Eastern nations, being composed of Malabars, Armenians, Persians, Arabians, Jews, Indians, and native Portuguese. The Jews occupy a whole village, a little to the westward of the town; they live separate from the rest of the inhabitants. I went into several of their houses and could not help observing in this people a striking peculiarity of features, different from any I had ever seen; a resemblance seemed to run through the whole, as if they were all of one family. They seldom or never marry out of their own tribe, by which the likeness is preserved, from father to son, for a long time. I am told there is the same similarity of features to be observed amongst the Jews of Amsterdam in Holland and other parts of Europe. This certainly serves to distinguish them more as an original people than any other. They have a good synagogue here, and are less oppressed, and have more liberty than in most other parts of the East. The raja of Cochin resides here, but lives in an indifferent state,

being so much oppressed by the Nabob Tippu on the one hand, and the Dutch on the other, as to have little or nothing left for himself. He is a Gentoo (Hindu).

Cochin, in former times, was a place of considerable celebrity, and was one of the places pitched upon by the first Portuguese settlers in the East after the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama; but that people have now very little left of the vast wealth and power they formerly enjoyed; a revolution of three centuries has reduced them below mediocrity in the general scale of European adventurers. The fort is a very large one, and very well fortified on the land side; toward the sea not so well, but it is secured by a very dangerous bar, which will not admit of ships coming nearer the shore than three or four miles. There are some regular Dutch troops in the garrison, and a few native militia; there was also here a part of a French regiment, which the Dutch borrowed during the late war. Provisions of every kind are to be had here in the greatest plenty. The 10th sailed; on the 15th we came to anchor in Tellicherri roads; 16th, having received a very polite invitation from my friend and schoolfellow Mr. Ince, I went on shore and spent several very pleasant days with him.

Among other places I saw in and about Tellicherri, I had a view of the fortifications, or rather of the regular lines drawn round Tellicherri, for the defence of the place against the Nabob Hyder Ali during the late war. These lines are exceedingly strong; they take in a space of about three miles and a half in circumference,

and are well defended by batteries and redoubts; a river runs parallel to the western angle, which, breaking off from thence, runs among the hills. Here the English troops sustained a severe siege for several years against the army of Hyder under the command of Sadik Khan; however, on the arrival of Major Abingdon with a reinforcement from the Bombay settlement, the gar-

A SCENE IN TRAVANCORE, SOUTHWESTERN INDIA.

rison made a most spirited and successful sally, in which, having defeated the enemy and killed great numbers of them, they at length compelled them to raise the siege, obtaining, at the same time, a considerable booty of horses, tents, and elephants. The general of the enemy was dangerously wounded and taken prisoner, and died a few days after, of that and a broken heart, at Tellicherri. I am informed that if he had lived and returned to the presence, he would have been cashiered, as the Nabob Hyder had set his heart on the reduction of the place. He lies buried close to the fort of Tellicherri;

a tomb has been erected to him, in which lamps are continually burning, which many Mussulmans visit out of respect to the memory of the deceased. The lines in some parts appear rather out of order, as they have not been thoroughly repaired since the siege of the place, and I am inclined to think a great number of troops would be requisite for their defence against a resolute enemy, owing to their great extent. They are now repairing throughout, as the government entertains an idea of the importance of the place, which is certainly considerable, in case of a war with Hyder, as by his being in possession of it he might greatly injure the other settlements of the English on the Malabar Coast.

The garrison of Tellicherri consists generally, in time of peace, of one battalion of sepoys, a company of artillery, and sometimes a company of European infantry; they are also able to raise about three thousand native militia. The view of the country round Tellicherri is very pleasant, consisting of irregular hills and valleys. The boundaries of the English are terminated by the opposite side of the river, and at a very little distance is a strong fortress of the Nabob Hyder; if the lines were once to be forced, the place would soon fall, the fort of Tellicherri itself having no kind of defence. Tellicherri is esteemed by all who reside there to be one of the healthiest places in India, Europeans seldom dying there; it is also much resorted to by convalescents; the sea produces plenty of very fine oysters, and provisions of all kinds are to be had in abundance.

I observed, in the Company's garden, the pepper vine, which grows in a curious manner, and something similar to the grape; the pepper on it, when fit to gather, appears in small bunches; it is in size something larger than the head of a small pea; the pepper, however, for the Company's ships' cargoes, is brought from some distance in the country. Tellicherri also produces the coffee-tree.

On the 28th, in the evening, we sailed; and on the 29th we anchored in the roads of Goa, off the Fort Alguarda.

Goa is a large city, and was once populous; it is the capital of the Portuguese settlements on this side the Cape of Good Hope; it is the residence of a Captain-General sent from Portugal, who lives in great splendour. The city stands upon the banks of a river of the same name, about twelve miles distance from the entrance of the harbour. The view up this river is truly delightful, the banks on either side are adorned with churches and country-seats of the Portuguese, interspersed with groves and valleys; the river has several pleasing openings as it winds along, its banks are low, but the hills behind rise to an amazing height, and add grandeur to the spectacle, greatly tending also to beautify the prospect. The city of Goa itself is adorned with many fine churches, magnificently decorated; and has several handsome convents. The church of Saint Augustine is a noble structure, and is adorned in the inside by many fine pictures; it stands on the top of a hill, from whence you have an extensive view of the

city and adjacent country. It is a circumstance that has always been observed, and very justly, that the Portuguese have ever chosen the spots for their convents and churches in the most delightful situations. I have observed it in the Brazils, and the inhabitants of Goa have by no means failed in attention to this point, all their public buildings being well situated. The body of this church is spacious, and the grand altar-piece finished in the most elegant style. The building of the choir is of Gothic architecture, and therefore of antiquity. This church has a convent adjoining to it, in which live a set of religious monks of the order of St. Augustine. Some of the brothers of this convent have given Popes and cardinals to the Roman See, as appears by their portraits which are hung up in a neat chapel dedicated to St. Augustine, the patron of the order. Adjoining to this church is a convent of religious women, who have taken the veil and are therefore prohibited from all kind of intercourse with the world. These chiefly consist of the daughters and nieces of the Portuguese inhabitants of the place, and a sum of money is generally given with them on their entrance into the convent.

A little lower, on the declivity of the hill, stands another church, dedicated to the Bon Jesus, in which is the chapel of Saint Francisco de Xaviere, whose tomb it contains. This chapel is a most superb and magnificent place; the tomb of the saint is entirely of fine black marble, brought from Lisbon. On the four sides of it the principal actions of the life of the saint are

most elegantly carved in basso relievo; these represent his converting the different nations to the Catholic faith; the figures are done to the life, and most admirably executed. It extends to the top in a pyramidical form, which terminates with a coronet of mother-of-pearl. On the sides of this chapel are excellent paintings, done by Italian masters, the subjects chiefly from scripture. This tomb and the chapel appertaining to it must have cost an immense sum of money; the Portuguese justly esteem it the greatest rarity in the place.

AN INDIAN BULLOCK-CART.

In the valley below is another convent for young ladies who have not taken the veil; out of this convent the Portuguese and others who go there may marry; some of the ladies have small portions, others none. As far as I could learn, the ceremony observed on taking out

one of these ladies is as follows: when a gentleman, after visiting often at the grate, shall have chosen one to whom he wishes to pay his addresses, an exchange of rings between the parties is first made, after which the lover is permitted to visit his mistress in the convent, in the presence of one of the matrons; then if he still holds his purpose, he is obliged to make a solemn promise of marriage, in the presence of the archbishop of the place, which being done, he may take her away whenever he pleases; after which the archbishop marries them. It is, however, to be observed that the lover, whoever he is, must first make profession of the Roman Catholic persuasion, otherwise no connection would be allowed. I saw three of the young ladies, who were really fine girls, and could not help making some reflections on their unhappy situation. Shut up in a wretched convent, where they must pine away their youth, unless capricious chance should befriend them in the appearance of a husband, and being deprived of the company of men, for whom they were formed to grace society and create affection, they must, if capable of reflection, think themselves most unhappy.

The Captain-General of Goa is also Commander-in-chief of all the Portuguese forces in the East Indies. They have here two regiments of European infantry, three legions of sepoys, three troops of native light horse, and a militia; in all, about five thousand men. Goa is at present on the decline and in little or no estimation with the country powers; indeed their bigotry and superstitious attachment to their faith is so

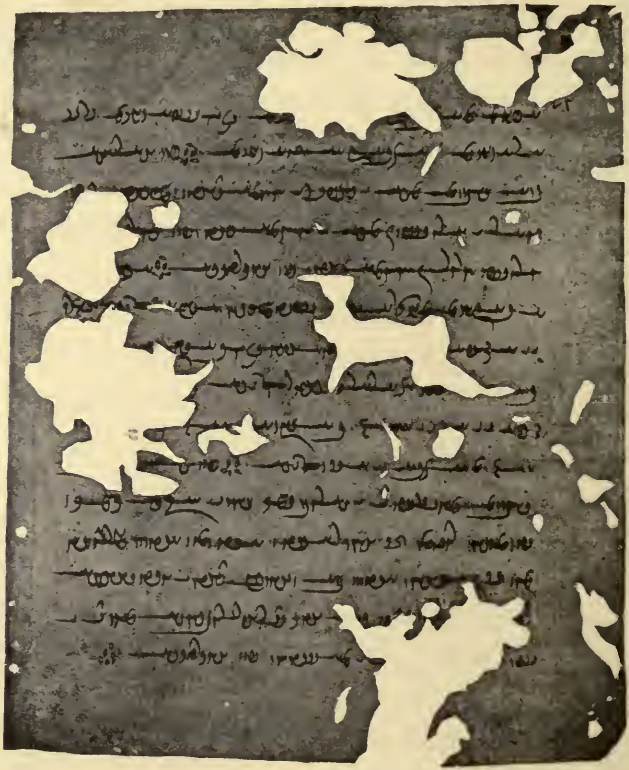
general that the inhabitants, formerly populous, are now reduced to a few thinly inhabited villages, the chief part of whom have been baptized, for they will not suffer any Mussulman or Gentoo to live within the precincts of the city; and these few are unable to carry on the husbandry or manufactures of the country. The court of Portugal is obliged to send out annually a very large sum of money to defray the current expenses of the government; which money is generally swallowed up by the convents and soldiery. If other measures are not pursued, Goa must, in a very few years, sink to nothing. Although it is evident that the internal decay of the government has been occasioned by the oppression and bigotry of the priests and the expulsion of so many useful hands, yet the court of Portugal cannot be prevailed upon to alter its measures, although the flourishing situation of the English and other European settlements (and of which one cause is certainly the mild and tolerant principles adhered to in points of religion, provided it interferes not with the affairs of government) is continually before their eyes. The Nabob Tippu has lately shown an inclination to attack them, but was suddenly called off by the Marathas. The Portuguese much fear he will return; and should he, there is little doubt but that the place will surrender to him. The glorious times of Albuquerque are now no more; power and wealth have long since taken their flight from the discoverers of the East. There was formerly an inquisition at this place, but it is now abolished; the building still remains, and by its black

Bombay from Malabar Hill.

outside appears a fit emblem of the cruel and bloody transactions that passed within its walls! Provisions are to be had at this place in great plenty and perfection; the Captain-General lives in great state; he is a well-bred man, and fond of the company of the English, whom he treats with great hospitality. On the 24th sailed; May 13th saw the lighthouse at Bombay, about nine in the morning.

The island of Bombay is in the possession of the English East India Company; it is situated on the coast of Conkan, in lat. 19 north, and long. 72.38 east; it was granted, as part of the marriage portion with the Infanta of Portugal, to Charles II. The harbour is capable of containing three hundred sail of ships with the greatest safety: there is also a most excellent dock, in which ships of his Majesty's squadron, and others, are repaired, refitted, and completely equipped for sea. They build also here all sorts of vessels; and the workmen in the yard are very ingenious and dexterous, not yielding to our best shipwrights in England. This island is very beautiful, and as populous for its size as any in the world; merchants and others coming to settle here from the different parts of the Deccan, Malabar, and Coromandel, as well as the Guzarat country. Amongst those of the latter place are many Persee (Parsi) families; these are descended from the remains of the ancient Gubres, or worshippers of fire; most of the country merchants, as well as the menial servants of the islands, are of this faith. They are very rich, and have in their hands the management of all mercantile

affairs. Their religion, as far as I could gain any information, is much corrupted from the ancient worship; they acknowledge that several Hindu forms and ceremonies have crept in amongst them, probably in com-



A MANUSCRIPT OF THE AVESTA WITH PAHLAVI TRANSLATION.

pliance to the natives, in order to conciliate their affections. I have heard it observed, however, that the Hindu religion does, in itself, bear some analogy to the ancient Persian worship. It seems that their sacred book, the Zend, which is said to have been written by their celebrated prophet Zerdusht (called by us Zoroaster), is at present only a copy of a few centuries;

which must, of course, invalidate its authenticity, as that prophet, according to the Persian historians, lived more than three thousand years ago; and indeed it is an indisputable fact that what religious books were in being at the time of the Grecian conquests of that country were carefully collected and burnt, by the express orders of Alexander, and were totally destroyed at the subsequent conquests of that country by the Saracens, at which period also happened the introduction of the Mohammedan religion. By these means their religion and language underwent a total change, the very traces of both which have long since disappeared, as is evident by the many fruitless efforts made to decipher those inscriptions still discernible on the walls of Persepolis, bearing not the least analogy to any character now existing. Hence it may be inferred that what is now given as the ancient character and language of this celebrated people is no more than an invention of a later date, and there remains not a probability that their real Zend will ever be known.[1]

The island of Bombay is about eight miles in length, and twenty in circumference: the most remarkable natural curiosity the island produces is a small fish; this fish, according to the description of a gentleman who has seen it, and from whom I received my information, is in form somewhat like a mussel, about four inches long, and has upon the top of its back, and near the head, a small valve, on the opening of which you

[1] This statement is inaccurate, as the authenticity of the Avesta (wrongly called Zend) has been fully proved since the time when Francklin wrote.

discover a liquor of a strong purple colour, which, when dropped on a piece of cloth, retains the hue. It is found chiefly in the months of September and October, and it is observed the female fish has not this valve which distinguishes the sexes. It is not improbable to suppose that this fish is of the same nature as the ancient Murex, or shell-fish, by which the Romans attained the art of dyeing to such perfection, and is similar to that found formerly on the coasts of Tyre. The Company's forces at this Presidency consist of eight battalions of sepoys, a regiment of European infantry, and a corps of European artillery and engineers. During the late long and very severe war, the Bombay troops have distinguished themselves in a peculiar manner, and the campaign of Bedanore and the sieges of Tellicherri and Mangalore will long remain testimonials of high military abilities, as well as of their bravery and patience under severe duty. The breed of sheep on this island is very indifferent, and all the necessaries of life are much dearer than in any other part of India. A work on this island is worthy of observation. It is a causeway on the southern part, about a mile in length and forty feet in breadth, eight of which on each side are of solid stone; the remainder in the centre is filled up with earth, a cement of clay, and other materials; the whole forming such a body as will endure for many ages. This work keeps up the communication with the other parts of the island during the season of the monsoon, which would otherwise overflow it, and cause indefinite damage.

Dec. 13th, after being detained seven months at this island, for want of a passage, I at length embarked on board an Arabian ship, bound for Bussora, in company with Captain Mitchell and Lieuts. James and Curry of the Madras military establishment, who were on their way to Europe over land. We had on board an exact epitome of Asia, being a collection of Armenians, Persians, Arabians, Ethiopians, Jews, Greeks, and Indians, who created as much confusion of tongues as at the building of the tower of Babel. On the 24th, in the evening, we saw Cape Rosalgate; and on the 1st of January, 1787, came to anchor in the harbour of Muscat.'

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